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OUTEL'S JOURNAL OF LA
SALLE'S LAST VOYAGE
1684-7. With Historical and
Biographical Introduction, Anno-
tations and Index by HENRY REED
STILES, A. M., M. D.

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GUDEBROD'S STATUE OF LA SALLE
AT THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION, ST. LOUIS, 1904.

JOUTEL'S JOURNAL OF
LA SALLE'S LAST VOYAGE.

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Joutel's Journal of
La Salle's Last Voyage
 1684-7

WITH A FRONTISPIECE OF GUDEBROD'S
 STATUE OF LA SALLE AND THE MAP OF
 THE ORIGINAL FRENCH EDITION, PARIS
 1713, IN FACSIMILE.



NEW EDITION WITH HISTORICAL AND
 BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION, ANNOTA-
 TIONS AND INDEX BY *HENRY REED STILES*,
A. M., M. D.

TO WHICH IS ADDED A BIBLIOGRAPHY
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 BY *APPLETON P. C. GRIFFIN*, OF THE LI-
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TO THE MEMORY OF

JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL. D.,

THE INDEFATIGABLE HISTORIAN

OF THE

MISSIONS, LITERATURE AND HISTORY

OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA,

AND A

MAN OF MODEST, PIOUS AND BLAMELESS LIFE

THIS,

THE FINAL VOLUME OF A SERIES PROJECTED
BY HIMSELF, OVER FORTY YEARS AGO,

IS

SINCERELY DEDICATED

BY

THE PUBLISHER AND EDITOR.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

This volume is the concluding one of a series projected by the late JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL. D., on the "Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi Valley." The initial volume, issued in 1852, comprises the Narratives of Marquette, Allouez, Membré, Hennepin and Anastase Douay. The second, issued in 1861, contains those of Cavalier, St. Cosme, Le Seur, Gravier and Guignas.

The present volume, giving Joutel's Journal of La Salle's third and last voyage, is reprinted from the first English translation of 1714, of the original French edition of 1713.

A *facsimile* reprint of the above English edition was issued (privately) by the Caxton Club of Chicago, in 1896, in an edition of 203 copies, and enriched by textual notes by Prof. MELVILLE B. ANDERSON, now of Menlo Park, California,—the result of his careful collation of the English with the French original. These notes, by the special permission of Mr. Anderson, have been incorporated in the present volume and indicated by his initials.

With a view, also, to render this edition as compendious a source of reference as possible for the student of this subject, we have added, by the courtesy of the author, the exceedingly full and valuable "Bibliography of the Discovery and Explorations in the Mississippi Valley," by Mr. APPLETON P. C. GRIFFIN, formerly of the Boston Public Library, now Chief Bibliographer of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

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Historical Introduction.

LA SALLE'S TWO PREVIOUS VOYAGES.

The earliest French explorers of the seventeenth century, among the great lakes and rivers of the North American continent,—Champlain, Nicolet, Marquette, Hennepin, Joliet and La Salle—were men of no common mould. Whether clerics, imbued with the enthusiasm of their holy faith, or laymen, dominated by the love of adventure and the prospect of adding to the wealth and glory of their beloved France, their ideals were sublime, their labors prodigious, their sufferings heroic, their perseverance indomitable. They possessed “the courage of their convictions;” and despite the difficulties, dangers, and reverses which befell them, their successive explorations all contributed to the result finally achieved by La Salle,—the discovery of the “Father of Waters” — the Mississippi.

“Second only to Champlain, among the heroes of Canadian history,” says John Fiske,¹ “stands Robert Cavalier de la Salle—a man of iron, if ever there was one—a man austere and cold in manner, and endowed with such indomitable pluck and perseverance as have never been surpassed in the world. He did more than any other man to extend the dominion of France in the New World. As Champlain had founded the colony of Canada, and opened the way to the great lakes, so La Salle completed the discovery of the Mississippi, and added to the French possessions the vast province of Louisiana.”

Réne Robert Cavalier, better known as La Salle, from the name of the family's estate, was born, in 1643, at

¹“The Romance of the French and Spanish Explorers;” an article in *Harper's Magazine*, for February, 1882, by John Fiske.

Rouen, Normandy, France. The Caveliers, though not ennobled, were citizens of marked social and some official distinction in that ancient and wealthy city. His father, Jean, and his uncle Henri, were rich merchants, and the latter, at least, was one of the "Hundred Associates" of Cardinal Richelieu, a syndicate largely interested in trade with the territorial possessions of France, in America.¹ Being an earnest Catholic, Robert, at an early age, became connected with the Jesuits, and in their schools acquired an excellent education, especially in the higher mathematics and the exact sciences. His nature, however, was one which chafed under the restrictions of a monastic order; and he subsequently withdrew from them, though on good terms, and with a reputation as a bright scholar, and of unimpeachable morals. Free to seek a wider field for his activities than that offered by an ecclesiastical career, his attention was drawn to Canada, where an elder brother, John Cavelier, a priest of the Sulpitian order, was then residing. But, as his connection with and withdrawal from the Jesuit order had — under a recent French law — deprived him of any claim upon the estate of his recently deceased father, he lacked the means needed for the voyage thither. Finally, he obtained an allowance (probably from his family) of 300 or 400 livres, with which slender sum he sailed to seek his fortune, in the spring of 1666.

Shortly after his arrival at Montreal, he received from the Superior of the Sulpitian Seminary, which had recently become the feudal lord of that city, a large grant of land (a "seignior") in that vicinity.² This he immediately proceeded to improve, by the introduction of new settlers as tenants, the erection of buildings, and the cultivation of the soil. It is probable, however, that even before coming

¹ "The Great La Salle," an article in *Harper's Magazine*, for February, 1905, by Henry Loomis Nelson, L. H. D. Also Parkman's *Pioneers of New France*, Champlain edition, ii, 258, 260.

² This feudal estate, some eight miles from Montreal, bears at the present day the name of La Chine (China), modernly spelled Lachine, which was said to have been applied to it in derision of his first fruitless voyage.

to Canada he had outlined to himself a much wider sphere of activity. For, with the prevision which was a feature of his character, he spent much of his time during the first two years of his life at La Chine, in mastering the Indian languages, especially those of the Iroquois and Algonquin dialects. And in this, he evidently struck upon the initial point of his future career. For, from a party of Senecas who visited with him several weeks at his seigniory, he learned of a great river (which they called the Ohio) "flowing into the sea," and only to be reached by a journey of eight or nine months. This, he conceived, might be the river of which he had already heard as emptying into the "Vermilion Sea," or Gulf of California, and, thinking that perchance it might possibly prove to be a northwest route to China, he projected a voyage of discovery thither.¹ With this in view he planned a visit to the Senecas, to learn all that they might know in relation to the matter. Communicating his plans to the Governor (Courcelle) and the Intendant (Talon) of Canada, he received from them the necessary authorization to make the attempt. But first, as it must be made at his own expense, and as he had already spent all his means upon the improvement of his seigniory, he was obliged to sell his lands, etc., mainly to the Seminary, from which he had obtained them. He, also, though perhaps rather unfortunately, joined his interests with those of the Sulpitians, in a voyage of discovery which that order were about to make for missionary purposes, in the same direction.

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF EXPLORATION, 1669-1675.

This joint expedition, under command of La Salle, started from La Chine, July 6th, 1669, with the Ohio river as its objective point. It consisted of 4 canoes, and 15

¹ It must be remembered that the voyage of the priest Marquette, and the fur-trader Joliet, in 1673, had reached the Mississippi, down which they sailed as far as the mouth of the Arkansas. At that point, thinking that they had sufficiently established the fact that the waters

men of La Salle's party; 3 canoes and 7 men of the Sulpitian contingent, and 2 canoes of Seneca Indians, acting as guides — 9 canoes and 24 men in all. Thirty-five days travel brought them to the Seneca village (Irondequoit, on the south side of Lake Ontario), where they found a cordial welcome, but, also, difficulty in obtaining guides. While thus delayed, there arrived in camp two Frenchmen, one of whom was Louis Joliet, fur-trader and voyageur, himself an honorable figure in the annals of western discovery. Joliet, who had visited the upper lakes, whither he had been sent by Talon, the French Intendant at Montreal, to discover and report upon the copper mines of Lake Superior, showed to the priests of La Salle's party a map which he had made of that region, and of which he gave them a copy; and he told them, moreover, of the heathenish condition of the Pottawatomies and other tribes dwelling in those parts. This so inflamed the religious zeal of the priests that they incontinently lost all their interest in the Ohio project, and determined to deflect their course toward the lake region, despite all the objections which La Salle could urge. So that, being firmly set in his own designs, he urged a recent illness as his excuse for parting with them; and the Sulpitians started northward, and got back to Montreal in June, 1670, with nothing to show (owing to sundry misfortunes and losses, especially that of their altar-service, without which they could not convert the heathen) either in the way of discovery, or of missionary results. La Salle's movements, after this "parting of the ways," and for two years following, are somewhat involved in obscurity. There is little doubt, however, that he was busily engaged in explorations and discoveries of some importance.¹ Certain it is, that he dis-

of the Mississippi discharged, not into the Gulf of California, but into the Gulf of Mexico (although they were then really only within seven hundred miles of its mouth) they returned to Canada and so reported.

¹ One account describes his route as being by way of Lake Chautauqua into the valley of the Alleghany, thence *via* the Ohio river to Louisville; and, in the following year, the crossing of Lake Erie, from

covered the Ohio, since his own assertion of the fact, in a memoir addressed to Count Frontenac, in 1677, is confirmed by the testimony of his rival, Joliet, upon whose two maps of the Mississippi and the great lakes, the Ohio is depicted with an inscription stating that it had been explored by La Salle.

The evidence of his having, on this voyage, reached and descended the Mississippi is not so clear. What militates most strongly against the assumption that he did so, is the fact, that, though he kept journals and made maps of this trip, which were, as late as 1765, in possession of a niece then living in France, at an advanced age; yet, when, after La Salle's death, this niece together with an uncle and a nephew of the explorer petitioned the King for a certain grant in consideration of the discoveries made by their distinguished relative, they made no mention of such discovery, as they would most likely have done if they had known of it.

But the discovery of the Illinois river must, undoubtedly, be credited to him.

Returning to Canada, from his long wanderings, he found great changes going on in that country. It was no longer simply a missionary field, but was fast assuming the form and character of a colony. A royal Viceroy, or Governor-General, had taken the place of the former Governor and Intendant; and the controlling interests of the Sulpitian order were now largely overshadowed by those of the Jesuits. Both Count Frontenac, the Governor, and the Intendant Talon, were men of similar character and held like views with La Salle. Like him, they entertained plans of wider scope than those of any previous Canadian officials. And when he broached his plan of finding and opening up of the Mississippi, and the rich southern country through which it ran, and of fortifying along its course,

south to north, and *via* the Detroit river to Lake Huron; thence into Lake Michigan and the Chicago river, and across the short portage to the Illinois river.

and especially at its outlet, against the incursions of the Spanish and English, he enlisted their ready sympathy. Thus, leaving to the Jesuits, with a dislike of whom they all three seemed to have been imbued, the frozen Canadian country; and to the English, that portion of the continent east of the Alleghanies, they proposed to themselves to conquer the remainder of this vast territory for the King of France.

The generally accepted French policy of that day, in regard to the acquisition of new territory in North America, was that the discovery of a great river gave to all the territory drained by such river an inchoate (or inceptive) title, which later could be completed by occupation. It was the attempt to carry out this policy which cost (and lost) France the Seven Years War, in which the politics and history of America and Europe became inextricably mixed. And of this policy, Count Frontenac, the Governor, Talon, the Intendant, and La Salle, the explorer, now became the leading exponents in Canada. They were all exceptionally strong men, full of ambitions and untiring energy, and their scheme combined not only military occupation, but the reclamation of the Indian tribes and their concentration around the proposed chain of French forts, together with colonies of French immigrants of an agricultural and industrial character, the extension of the buffalo fur-trade, etc.—in fact a most enchanting *mirage* of future civilization and Christianity in the vast central area of this continent. In itself, the scheme was too vast to be more than a sketch of future possibilities; and, moreover, it ignored certain needs and facts which were most important to its success. For instance, the French immigration to this country, at that time, was totally inadequate to furnish settlers enough, and with sufficient rapidity to ensure the successful colonization of the new territory. Again, the pacification among themselves, of the numerous and warring Indian tribes which occupied this western continent, and the securing of their peaceful and friendly

co-operation with the whites, was a work almost impossible within the limits of a generation or more — and, until it was done, colonization would be slow, and its difficulties and dangers deterrent to such emigration. Another inherent point of weakness in the plan was the difficulty of keeping in touch with and depending upon a home government thousands of miles away, as well as the uncertain nature of such dependence in the political, commercial, and ecclesiastical conflicts which would be apt to arise, and necessarily would have to be adjusted, more or less, through the medium of Colonial officials — whose motives would not always be free from the imputation of self-interest.

The jealousy of the Jesuits, now conscious of their waning power in the affairs of the new Colonial *régime*, had always been felt by La Salle — and probably with good reason — to be inimical to his plans; and the future held out no hope of its being less persistent or bitter.

The personality of the explorer, also, weighed fully as much against, as for, the success of his undertaking. By nature cold, reserved, and reticent, he was not a genial man; and possessed little or none of that magnetism which wins men's hearts. Absorbed, as he was, with the details of his great plans, and the responsibilities which they imposed upon him, he was ever self-contained and self-repressed. Even the few most faithful and trusted companions of his labors could hardly be considered as on terms of intimacy with him. And the necessity of maintaining the strictest discipline among the class of men by whose following and aid he had to carry on his work — voyageurs, courriers des bois, traders, conoeists, and Indians — who comprehended him not, but were simply compelled by the force of his will, certainly did not tend to establish that community of interest which should have existed between them. It was, in fact, this lacking quality in an otherwise magnificent character, which was ever thwarting his plans and which rendered his brief career of eight years in exploration work an almost uninterrupted

record of disaster — leading — though with one momentary triumph — to a tragic end.

Omniscience is denied to Man. It belongs only to the Creator, who has given to men, in its place, the limited faculty of foresight. And, with such foresight as they had, the three promoters of the fortunes of New France — Count Frontenac, Talon, and La Salle — formulated their plans, and in the autumn of 1674 the latter sailed for France, to obtain the royal sanction and the moneyed help which were needed. Whatever the strength or the weaknesses of their project, money was their *sine qua non*.

La Salle's first return to France. Bearing strong letters of recommendation from Frontenac to the French Minister of State, Colbert,¹ he met with a cordial reception at home. In response to his petitions to the King, he was, in consideration of his services as an explorer, raised to the ranks of the untitled nobility² and was granted the seigniori of the new post on Lake Ontario, which, in honor to his patron, was named Fort Frontenac. He was also invested with the command of the same, together with that of the settlement around it, subject to the authority of his friend the Governor-General. On his part he undertook to repay to the King the cost of the fort, to maintain it, at his own charge, with a garrison equal to that of Montreal, besides laborers; to form a French colony around it, as well as one of domesticated Indians near by; to build a church and support one or more Récollet friars.

He had but little trouble, now that he was in the sunshine of royal favor, in obtaining from his gratified family and friends the needed funds; and on his return to Can-

¹ La Salle had, in the parlance of the present day, "made himself solid" with the Governor, by his active participation in Frontenac's plans for the enlargement of the French power in Canada; especially in the matter of holding a council with the Iroquois, at Onondaga, where a treaty of peace was secured from that powerful and warlike tribe, which seemed to ensure peace for many years.

² La Salle's Patent of Nobility is given in the second volume of this series, "Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley," from Paris Doc. in Sec'y's Office, Albany, vol. ii, pp. 8-11.

ada (1675), proceeded to comply with the terms of his seigniorial grant. Within two years, the original wooden fort was replaced by a much larger one of cut stone, on the land side, and on the outer side by palisades, and its walls manned by nine small cannon. On the inside it contained barracks, a guard-house, officers' quarters, a forge, a well, a mill, and a bakery — all of substantial build. Its garrison consisted of two officers, a surgeon, and ten or twelve soldiers, with a large number of masons, laborers, and canoe-men. Near the two villages which stretched along the shore south of the fort (one of French farm-tenants, the other of friendly Iroquois) were the chapel and residence of two Récollet friars. Over a hundred (French) acres of cleared and cultivated land, and cattle, fowl, and swine, brought from Montreal, gave ample evidence of permanent occupation; and four vessels for lake and river navigation, as well as a fleet of canoes, hinted strongly at the seignior's predilection for travel and exploration. Feudal lord of the entire region around him (for the nearest settlement was a week's journey distant), commander of a garrison paid by himself, founder and patron of a church, he was now literally "master of all which he surveyed;" and had he been content so to remain, would soon have become a merchant-prince, for, ere long, as estimated by a friend, he was "making more than 25,000 livres a year."

His cup of success, however, was not without its infusion of bitterness. He found himself in a very maelstrom of opposition and detraction, arising from the jealousy of those interested in the Montreal fur-trade, (especially among the Jesuits), who saw in the royal favors conferred on La Salle the ultimate downfall of their own interests. In this violent imbroglio of commercial, political and priestly rivalry, envy, malice, contemptible, and persistent espionage, and even poison, played their respective parts.

Meanwhile, the free life of Nature was wooing his

spirit, the fever of exploration was still strong upon him; and he valued the position he had attained only as a stepping-stone to the realization of his life-long dream.

La Salle's second return visit to France. So, in the autumn of 1677, leaving his fort and seigniory in charge of a trusted lieutenant, La Forest, who was also one of his partners in the proposed fur-trade, La Salle sailed again for France. There, lodged modestly in a rather obscure quarter of Paris, he renewed the friendships and associations which he had formed during his previous visit; and added to them by making new and valuable friends. Among these were the Marquis de Seigneley, the Prince de Conti, La Motte de Sussière, and last but not least, Henri de Tonti, thenceforth his foremost companion in his Western labors.¹ La Salle also received from the King a royal patent authorizing him to explore and occupy the Mississippi country, "through which, to all appearances, a way may be found to Mexico." This patent, confirmatory of that granted him in 1675, imposed upon him the erection and maintenance of such forts as he might deem necessary, and gave him a monopoly for five years of the trade in buffalo hides. The whole expense was to be borne (as was the custom of the monarchs of that day, in granting lands which they did not own, and the privileges which such grants carried with them) by the grantee. The fur-trade of the Montreal colony was not to be interfered with; nor did the patent include any provision or encouragement of the industrial or colonization scheme which had fully taken

¹ Capt. Tonti (or Tonty, as he signed his name in its Gallicized form) was an Italian (the son of the financier who instituted that form of life-insurance known as the Tontine), an ex-officer in the Sicilian wars, where, by the explosion of a grenade, he lost one of his hands. This loss was supplied, in some measure, by an artificial hand of iron, or some other metal, over which he always wore a glove, and the weight of which was, in one or two instances at least, felt by the savages who tried to intimidate him. Tonti's name will survive in history as that of La Salle's most faithful and courageous friend and lieutenant, and one who, by reason of his noble qualities is entitled to our admiration and respect. See also Parkman's *La Salle* (Champlain edit., i, 129).

possession of La Salle's mind. Content, however, with what he could get in the way of kingly favor — on the principle, perhaps, that "half a loaf is better than no loaf," the adventurer turned his attention to securing the needed funds, and soon, by loans from friends and family, and by mortgages upon his Fort Frontenac property, had raised sufficient to carry out his purpose.

On the 14th July, 1678, Le Sieur La Salle, as he must thenceforth be called, with Tonti, La Motte, and 30 men, mostly ship carpenters, with a cargo of iron, cordage, anchors, etc., sufficient for the equipment of two vessels, set sail for Quebec, where they arrived after a two months' voyage. Here they met with Father Hennepin, a Récollet friar, who had come to Canada three years before, and whose name from this point is prominently connected with American Western exploration.¹

THE SECOND VOYAGE OF EXPLORATION (1678-1679) was virtually commenced, under the orders of La Salle (who was with Tonti) detained at Quebec by his own affairs, and the difficulties arising from the machinations of his enemies,² by La Motte and Hennepin. They set sail, from Fort Frontenac, November 18th, 1678, in a small vessel of ten tons; but it was not until the 6th of December that they reached the mouth of the Niagara river and saw the grand cataract of which Hennepin's pencil has preserved the first known picture and description. Two leagues above the mouth of the Niagara river La Motte began the erection of a fort, where he was joined later by La Salle and Tonti. Here, under almost unsurmountable

¹ Hennepin was a Jesuit priest, a courageous and rather able man, to whose memoirs we are indebted for much information concerning La Salle's and other early explorations; though the value of his writings is much impaired by his tendency to tell large stories, and to claim for himself the credit which belonged to others; a tendency which seemed to increase more and more with each successive edition of his book.

² The animus of this enmity, which persistently followed La Salle for the rest of his life, is fully explained on pp. 101-104 of Parkman's *La Salle*, Champlain edition, vol. i.

obstacles, due to the excessive cold, and hunger, as well as jealousies among the men, and the distrust of the Indians, a ship-yard was improvised, and a vessel of about 45 tons was builded and equipped with five small cannon. She was named the *Griffin*, in honor of the Governor-General, and her prow was ornamented with a grotesque figure of that somewhat apocryphal animal, in compliment to his family arms.¹

The building of this fort and of the *Griffin* was a master-stroke of La Salle's, for Niagara was the key to the four great upper lakes (Erie, Huron, Superior, and Michigan), and by its position would control the fur-trade of the whole northern country. In time of peace it would intercept the trade between the Iroquois and the Dutch and English at Albany; in time of war it would be a menace to both.

Any forward movement, however, was delayed from February until August, 1679, by the absence of La Salle, who had been obliged to return, with Tonti, to Fort Frontenac for needed supplies, and to attend to some of his private affairs. For his creditors, excited by false reports of his insolvency, had seized upon all his available property, outside of his seigniory.

Despite these embarrassments, however, he pushed forward his enterprise, and by the 7th of August the *Griffin* was sailing upon the waters of Lake Erie, never before ploughed by the keel of a white man's ship. Passing through the Straits of Detroit and into Lake Huron, they stayed not their course, although nearly wrecked by a fierce gale, until, early in September, they dropped anchor at the entrance of Green Bay, within the waters of Lake Michigan. Here, at Michilimackinac, was a Jesuit mission and centre of Indian trade, where they were received with show of welcome by the holy fathers, and with evident distrust by their Indian *protéges*. Here La Salle

¹ La Salle often prophesied, says Parkman (*La Salle*, i, 149), that he "would make the griffin fly above the crows," *i. e.*, that he would make the influence of Frontenac triumph over that of the Jesuits.

found that a party of his men whom he had sent on in advance to the Illinois, to trade for him and make preparations for his coming, had been tampered with, had appropriated the goods in their charge to their own uses, and that many of them were missing. Six of these rascals were found at Michilimackinac, and with two found by Tonti at the Sault Ste. Marie, were captured with their plunder and the remainder had taken to the woods. It had been La Salle's intention to leave his party at this point to proceed on their way to the Illinois, under Tonti, while he himself should return to Canada, to look after and protect his own concerns there. But Tonti was just then absent, and there was great need of his remaining with his men, lest they should again be enticed away from their duty. Besides, he was desirous to frustrate a plan of his enemies, which he thought he had discovered, to set the Iroquois "by the ears" with the Illinois, with a view to draw him into the war, and thus interrupt his plans.

Finally sailing westward into Lake Michigan he found near Green Bay¹ several faithful men of the advance party whom he had sent out, who had collected there and on the way thither, a considerable store of furs; which he determined to send back to Niagara, on the *Griffin*, to satisfy his exacting creditors, with orders to return to the head of Lake Michigan as soon as possible.² She set sail on this return voyage on the 18th of September, in the face of a storm, which prevailed for several days. In the same storm, also, La Salle and the fourteen men left to him, by numerous desertions *en route*, resumed their journey, in four canoes, heavily laden with a forge, tools, merchandise, and arms. It was no pleasure trip; twice they were swamped,

¹ Green Bay was a mission among several Indian tribes of Lake Michigan, established by the Jesuit fathers, Allouez and Dablon, 1669-70.

² By the terms of his patent from the King, this was clearly an infringement of the monopoly belonging to the Montreal colony, and was subsequently used against him by his enemies, as well as being the primal cause of his loss of the *Griffin*.

and nearly lost the contents of their canoes, as well as their lives: drenched, cold, and without provisions, they suffered much, and distrust of the Indians with whom they met on shore increased their sufferings. But steadily he pushed on along the western coast of Lake Michigan, and circled around its southern end until he reached the mouth of the St. Joseph, called by him the Miami. Here he had expected to meet Tonti with twenty men, coming along the eastern shore of the lake from Michilimackinac. But no Tonti was there. It was the 1st of November, the streams were freezing over, and their provisions were failing. Unless they could reach the villages of the Illinois before the Indians left for their winter hunt, starvation might be their fate. The dissatisfaction of his men presaged mutiny and desertion, but La Salle firmly refused to remove from the place where they were, and affirmed his intention, if they should desert, to remain with his Mohegan hunter and the three friars of his party until the arrival of Tonti. Then, the better to occupy their thoughts, he set them to work on the building of a timber fort. Twenty days later, and when this work was well under way, Tonti appeared, but with only half of his men. Provisions having failed, he had left the remainder thirty leagues behind, to get their living as best they might, by hunting. But La Salle sent him back, with two men, to find and bring them forward. On this return trip, their canoe was swamped in a violent gale, and guns, baggage, and provisions were lost and they returned to the fort on the Miami, subsisting on acorns by the way. The balance of Tonti's party, except a couple of deserters, came into camp a few days after.

But the *Griffin* came not back to the waiting party. Nor was her fate ever known; whether she was lost by stress of storm, by Indian attack, or (as La Salle always thought) by treachery of her pilot. Longer delay, however, was impossible: and so, after sending back two of his men to Michilimackinac, and to pilot her, if she still existed, to the

Miami fort, his party, numbering 33 in all, was re-embarked, 3rd December, 1679, on the St. Joseph, keeping a sharp lookout along the right-hand shore for the path or portage leading to the headwaters of the Illinois river. This, owing to the absence of the Mohegan hunter, they missed, and La Salle went on shore to look it up, lost his way, and passed a dismal night in a thick snowstorm. Meantime Tonti and Hennepin, growing uneasy, also landed, ordered guns to be fired, and sent out men to find their lost commander, if possible. He was found near morning, and, with the aid of the Mohegan, who had returned, the portage was also found and La Salle, excessively fatigued, turned in, with Hennepin, for a little rest in a wigwam which was covered with mats made of reeds. During the night the cold forced them to kindle a fire, from which the mats caught ablaze, so that before daybreak they were turned out into the cold again, having barely escaped being burned with their shelter. In the morning, shouldering their canoes, they started across the portage to the headwaters of the Illinois — distant some five miles. As the party filed along on their way, a disgruntled man, who walked behind La Salle, raised his gun to shoot him in the back, but was prevented by a companion. Reaching the Kankakee, one of the sources of the Illinois, they floated their canoes on its thin and sluggish stream; and passing through wide areas of swamps, and prairies, glided along at the base of "Starved Rock" near the great town of the Illinois, and on New Year's Day, 1680, reached the head of the Illinois river, where they landed, and Father Hennepin celebrated the Mass. Four days later they had reached the long expansion — the river now called Peoria Lake, and near its southern end they came upon a large camp of Indians, who received them at first with surprise and enmity. But La Salle and his men leaped ashore, and by his bravery and knowledge of Indian character quelled their fears, so that Frenchmen and Indians were soon seated together at a feast such as the former had not **for some**

time seen. The calumet of peace was exchanged and La Salle explained to his hosts his object and his wish for peace, so that they all retired to sleep in amity. In the morning, however, La Salle found that he was regarded with distrust, and soon learned that Indian emissaries from another tribe had been tampering, over-night, with his hosts — who now appeared quite indisposed to friendship. He saw, in this sudden change of front, the hand of the Jesuits, and when, at a second feast, tendered by one of the chiefs, he was urged to desist from his plan of descending the Mississippi, by arguments of the number, valor, and ferocity of the tribes inhabiting its valley, the terrors of alligators, serpents, and unnatural monsters, and the fearful nature of the river itself, he was fully confirmed in his opinion. In a strong, but temperate address, La Salle declared his disbelief in those marvelous tales, and affirmed that they were lies, inspired by French jealousy of his project, and sent them through Iroquois sources. A few days later, a band of Mississippi Indians visited the camp, from whom he learned the utter falsity of these stories and also had the assurance that the tribes along that river would receive the white men with favor. On this he took the first opportunity, at another feast, of confronting the Illinois chiefs with so full a description of the river (which he said had been communicated to him by "the Great Spirit") its course and its final meeting with the sea, that his savage hearers "clapped their hands to their mouths," in astonishment, and conceiving him to be a sorcerer, confessed that what they had said was false and inspired only by their desire to retain him amongst them.

Meanwhile, he had determined to fortify himself for the winter (it was now the middle of January) in a position where he could face an Illinois outbreak, or an Iroquois invasion, better than he could do in the Indian camp where he was then a guest. Taking advantage of a thaw, which temporarily reopened the frozen river, he with Hennepin, in a canoe, sought and soon found the site he had chosen,

on a low hill, or knoll, half a league from the camp and about 200 yards from the southern bank. In front of this knoll was a marsh, overflowed at high tide, and on either side a ravine. A ditch was dug behind this knoll, connecting these two ravines, and thus isolating it from the mainland. On each side of the hill, which was nearly square, an embankment was thrown up and its sloping sides were guarded by *chevaux-de-frise*, and a 25-foot palisade surrounded the whole. The buildings within this area were of musket-proof timber. This fort, the first civilized act of occupation in the present State of Illinois, he named Fort Crèvecoeur.

“La Salle’s men,” says Parkman, “were for the most part raw hands, knowing nothing of the wilderness, and easily alarmed at its dangers, * * * it was to the last degree difficult to hold men to their duty. Once fairly in the wilderness, completely freed from the sharp restraints of authority in which they had passed their lives, a spirit of lawlessness broke out among them with a violence proportioned to the pressure which had hitherto suppressed it. Discipline had no resources and no guarantee; while these outlaws of the forest, the *courriers des bois*, were always before their eyes, a standing example of unbridled license.” Desertions and disaffections among his followers were, at this time, a heavy burden to La Salle; and he even barely escaped from another attempt to poison him. Finally, however, having apparently placated the Indians of the vicinity, and checked, as he hoped, the disposition to mutiny and desertion among his men, which had been a constant menace to his plans,¹ he built, in an incredibly short time, a

¹He clearly foresaw what this journey involved, for as he wrote to one of his associates in his enterprise, “though the thaws of approaching Spring greatly increased the difficulty of the way, interrupted as it was everywhere by marshes and rivers, to say nothing of the length of the journey, which is about 500 leagues in a direct line, and the danger of meeting Indians of four or five different nations through whose country we were to pass, as well as an Iroquois army which we knew was coming that way; though we must suffer all the time from hunger, sleep on the open ground, and often with-

vessel of 40 tons' burden with which to descend the river to the Mississippi. He also sent Hennepin and two others in a canoe to explore the Illinois to its junction with the larger river. He himself, having now given up all hopes of the *Griffin*, began a return to Canada, for needed supplies, in canoes, with four Frenchmen and an Indian hunter, leaving the faithful Tonti, with a dozen or so men to hold the fort and guard the half-finished ship. It was a desperate journey, but he felt that unless the articles lost in the *Griffin* were replaced without delay, the expedition would be retarded for a full year, and probably utterly foiled by the additional expense which would be incurred for the support of his men. On the way he met the two men whom he had sent back to Michilimackinac in search of the *Griffin*, but they brought him no tidings of her fate, and ordering them to join Tonti at Fort Crèvecœur, he pressed firmly on. He also took occasion to examine the capabilities of the "Starved Rock" upon the Illinois, and sent back word to Tonti to make it a stronghold of defense in case of necessity. His journey occupied sixty-five days of incessant toil, danger, and accidents that rendered it "the most adventurous one ever made by a Frenchman in America;" he himself was the only one of the party who did not break down, either from fatigue or illness, and when Lake Erie was reached, it was his arm alone which ferried their canoe over to the blockhouse at Niagara. They reached Fort Frontenac on the 6th of May, and he pushed on directly to Montreal.

His sudden reappearance there caused the greatest as-

out food; watch by night and march by day, loaded with baggage such as blankets, clothing, kettle, hatchet, gun, powder, lead, and skins to make moccasins; sometimes pushing through thickets, sometimes climbing rocks covered with ice and snow, sometimes wading whole days through marshes where the water was waist-deep, or even more, at a season when the snow was not entirely melted—though I knew of this, it did not prevent me from resolving to go on foot to Fort Frontenac, to learn for myself what had become of my vessel, and bring back the things we needed."—Parkman's *La Salle* (Champlain edit.), i, 189-90.

tonishment; and he was met on every hand with news of disaster. Both Man and Nature seemed in arms against him; his agents had plundered him, creditors had seized upon his property, a vessel from France, laden with stores valued at over 10,000 crowns, had been lost at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and of twenty men hired in Europe, some had been detained by the Intendant Duchesneau, and all but four of the remainder had been told that he was dead, and had returned home. Yet, undaunted by these staggering blows of Fortune, he went vigorously to work; and, within a week, succeeded in gaining the supplies he so much needed for the forlorn band he had left behind him on the Illinois. Finally, on the very eve of his embarkation from Fort Frontenac, a letter from Tonti informed him that most of the men left at Fort Crèvecœur had deserted, plundered the fort, and destroyed all the arms, goods, etc., which they could not carry away with them; and this was followed by a letter from two friendly lake traders which told him that the deserters had also destroyed his fort at St. Joseph, seizing a quantity of furs belonging to him at Michilimackinac,¹ and plundered the magazine at Niagara; and that, largely reinforced by others, they were seeking him along the northern shore of Lake Ontario, with the design of killing him, if they met, in order to escape punishment for their misdeeds. La Salle's courage rose promptly to the occasion. Choosing nine of his trustiest men, he started out, in canoes, to face them, met and captured four of them in one canoe and killed two and captured three others in another canoe. His prisoners he placed in custody at Fort Frontenac, to await the coming of Governor-General Frontenac; and immediately put out on his return to the Illinois, and the relief of his gallant lieutenant Tonti. He took with him a new lieutenant, one La Forest, a surgeon, ship-carpenter, joiners, masons,

¹ A Jesuit mission, established among the Hurons, 1670-72, by Father Marquette.

soldiers, voyageurs and laborers, 25 men in all, with full outfits of all needed tools for the building of the vessel and a new fort. By a shorter route than that of the previous year, they arrived at Michilimackinac, pushed on with 12 men to the ruined fort at St. Joseph, where he left the heavy stores, under a small guard, to await the arrival of La Forest. His anxiety to reach Tonti, of whom, thus far, he had heard nothing, was greatly increased by a rumor of an impending invasion of the Illinois country, by the Iroquois, which foreboded a new disaster to his enterprise. And as the party passed down the Illinois, it met with evidences everywhere that the two savage tribes had indeed met in combat, to the utter rout of the Illinois; but their anxiety in regard to Tonti was not relieved by any word or sign. The vessel, however, which he had left unfinished at Fort Crèvecœur was still entire, and but slightly damaged. Once more taking to their canoes, they descended the river (250 miles) to its junction with the Mississippi, which they first saw about the 7th of December, 1781.¹ There was now nothing left for him, except to retrace his way up the Illinois to relieve the men whom he had left at the fort on the St. Joseph.² And, though to his surprise he learned no tidings of Tonti, he found that his men under La Forest's orders had restored the fort, cleared a place for planting, and prepared the timber and plank for a new vessel.

Tonti, meanwhile, finding himself caught in the very midst of the terrible war between the Iroquois and the

¹ The white man's name, "The Father of Waters," applied to this river, is a rather grandiloquent paraphrase of the Indian's "All Water," but seems to apply only to one feature of its greatness—viz., its size. The Indian name, however, compounded of *Missi*, whole, and *sipi*, river, more nearly describes its *collective* character, as the great irrigating system of this vast region, receiving many tributaries, both great and small.

² Fortunately, his fort and colony were not attacked at that time; but later it withstood a six-days' siege, under the combined command of Tonti (as La Salle's representative) and De Baugis, a French officer, representing the Governor-General. The attack, however, was unsuccessful.

Illinois — from which he extricated himself and his party only by the supreme exercise of his wisdom and courage, against odds almost unsurmountable, had reached Lake Michigan, near Chicago, and following its borders northward had reached Green Bay, in a starved and half-frozen condition, from which they were relieved by a friendly tribe of Pottawatomies. In March, La Salle heard of the safety of Tonti, and in May, to their great joy, these two brave men were reunited.¹

La Salle passed the winter at his fort on the Miami, on the St. Joseph, by the border of Lake Michigan, planning how to meet the old disappointments and difficulties which still surrounded him, as well as the new contingencies which he foresaw would soon arise. Of these latter, the most formidable was the enmity of the ferocious Iroquois nation, which had already terrorized the Illinois, and shown a disposition to interfere with his own plans. To this end, he conceived the idea of a confederation of the Illinois with some of the Western tribes, and some from the New England, and Atlantic borders of the East, which, under his leadership and the protection of France, would be a mutual defense against the incursions of the Iroquois. This bold project he speedily carried into effect, by his tact, personal address, and superb oratory — for he was a natural-born diplomat, especially in all his dealings with Indians. This done he returned to Canada, to compose his own disturbed affairs, collect his scattered resources, and placate his creditors. By the beginning of autumn he was again on his way to complete the task — already twice defeated — of discovering the mouth of the Mississippi. For, though he had satisfied himself that it really existed, he had still to determine its course, and navigability, and the nature of

¹The account of these evidences and of La Salle's consequent anxiety as to Tonti's fate, are well described by Parkman (*La Salle*, i, pp. 205-213, Champlain edit.). The record of Tonti's tribulations in this invasion of the Iroquois into the Illinois town, and his heroic conduct, is given in chapter XVI of same volume.

its exit into the ocean¹ as well as to acquaint himself with its resources, and its savage inhabitants. When he reached his fort at the Miami in October, he found there some of his new Indian allies from the East, and with 18 of them and 23 of his own Frenchmen, started for the headwaters of the Illinois — dragging their canoes and baggage on sledges, as the streams were frozen. They reached the Mississippi on the 6th of February, launched their little fleet of canoes, and — delayed a few days by floating ice — resumed their course, passing successively the mouths of the Missouri, the Ohio, and the Arkansas rivers, and making visits to many tribes along their course, by whom they were well received. As they reached the end of their journey, on the 6th of April, sixty-two days from the time of entering the river, they saw that the river divided into three broad channels, or mouths, of which La Salle followed the western one, Dautray the eastern, and Tonti the middle one.

After La Salle had located, in his canoe, the nearby borders of the great sea, or gulf (of Mexico) which spread before them, the three parties reassembled (April 9th,

¹For, it must be remembered, the fact of the existence of this great river was known to the European world long before La Salle's time. Its three mouths are shown in the edition of Ptolomy, printed at Venice in 1513 — wherein the delta of the Mississippi is traced with more accuracy than in the maps of the next century. Dr. J. G. Shea, in the Introduction (pp. x-lxxv) to the volume of this series (*The Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, 1903*) has very carefully and clearly epitomized the results of the earliest explorations down to those of La Salle, viz., that of Garay (1578); of De Vaca (—); of Friar Mark (1539); and of De Soto (1539); of Muscoso (1539-43); of De Luna (1557); of other missionary efforts (1580); and of others of less account, which all kept alive the knowledge of the great river of the North American continent called by the Spanish *Rio del Espiritu Santo*.

Then early in the seventeenth century, came the French explorers; Champlain and the Jesuits (1608); Nicolet (1639); Jogues (1641); Allouez (1669); Dablon (1670); Marquette (1673), and Joliet — all of whom, by observation or report, confirmed the existence of the Mississippi.

All of these were influenced in their labors by greed, by the spirit of commercialism and adventure, or by a sublime faith and religious zeal. It was reserved for La Salle to enter this region with the *distinct idea of colonization*, and of making it a source of revenue and a glory to the land which he represented.

1682) at a spot where a column was erected and near it a plate was buried bearing the arms inscribed with the words of France, and "*Louis Le Grande, Roy de France et de Navarre, Règne, Le Neuvième, Avril, 1682.* Then while the *Te Deum*, the *Exaudéat* and the *Domine Saluum fac Regem* were chanted, the volleys of musketry discharged by the men under arms, with cries of "Vive le Roi;" a cross was planted beside the column and Le Sieur de Salle, sword in hand, proclaimed the new-found territory as *Louisiana*, and Louis XIV as its King and rightful Lord.

The vast domain thus secured, after the manner of those times, to the French Crown, extended from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Rio Grande and the Gulf of Mexico to the farthest springs of the Missouri; but the name — Louisiana — which he gave it is now confined to a single commonwealth in the great sisterhood of states forming the United States of America.

Now, in the culmination of his triumph he was seized by an illness so severe as to threaten his life; and was unable to reach Fort Miami, even by slow stages, before August, and to rejoin Tonti, whom he had dispatched with news of his success to Canada. It seems to have been about this time that he began to abandon the difficult access which he had hitherto found, through Canada, with all its dangers and enemies, both whites and Indians; and to reach the region of his hopes and toils more directly by way of the Gulf of Mexico and the mouth of the Mississippi. His plans of descending that river by means of a vessel had twice been thwarted by disasters which proved its futility; and to attempt his purpose with canoes would be fraught with much difficulty and an enormous expense. He purposed now, in view of all his past experiences, to form on the banks of the Illinois a colony of French and Indians, as a place of storage of the furs which could be gathered by the various Western tribes; and as a defense against the Iroquois, who were alike inimical to the French and their

Illinois allies. And rumors of an impending renewal of attack upon these allies urged him to greater speed; so he and Tonti repaired at once to "Starved Rock," before mentioned.¹ This was a cliff, rising to a height of 125 feet, on the southern bank of the Illinois, presenting on three sides a sheer perpendicular wall, and on its other side a deep ravine; and it was accessible only by a difficult climb from behind. Its area was about an acre. This rock, in December, 1662, they cleared of the forest which crowned it, dragged timber up the ragged pathway, built storehouses and dwellings, and surrounded the summit with palisades. In this eyrie, which he christened Fort St. Louis of the Illinois, the winter was passed by La Salle's company, and by tactful management he secured the friendship of the neighboring tribes.²

Around and under the protection of this fortification was soon gathered a motley gathering of the Illinois, and fragments of other tribes, all looking to him as their feudal lord; and to these followers, by virtue of his seigniorial rights, he began to grant parcels of land, and soon had the *nucleus* of a colony of some 20,000 souls, numbering about 4,000 warriors.

But, while thus engaged in the wilderness, matters in Canada were looming up adversely to his interests. His friend and patron, Count Frontenac, had been recalled to France, and the man who succeeded him as Governor-General, one de La Barre, was prejudiced against the explorer and constantly misrepresenting him to the home government in France. Furthermore, emboldened by the tone of the King's letter, who had been led to condemn La Salle's doings and plans, La Barre, with other associates, seized Fort Frontenac (which was La Salle's property), despite the remonstrances of the creditors and mortgagees; sold his stores for their own benefit, and turned his cattle

¹ This place, of which a view is given at p. 168 of Parkman's *La Salle*, vol. i, Champlain edition, is about six miles below the town of Ottawa, Illinois.

² La Salle's estimate of the number of these Indians was about 20,000, or a fighting capacity of 4,000 warriors.

to pasture on the growing crops. The position of La Salle became intolerable, cut off from his supplies, for which he entreated Governor La Barre in vain, threatened with an onslaught of the Iroquois, and unable to afford his own Indian allies the help which he had promised them, he had no other resource than to leave his wilderness colony in faithful Tonti's care, and cross the ocean again to face his enemies before the Court and King.

La Salle's third return visit to France. So, early in the autumn of 1683, he again turned his face homeward. Quite to his surprise, as we may well imagine, La Salle found that the time of his return was fortuitous. His old friends rallied around him; his enemies seemed, for the moment, to have lost their influence against him. Best of all, both the King and his Ministers were in better humor with him than, from the tone of recent home correspondence, he had reason to expect. The country was now at war with Spain, and the trend of official opinion chimed in very happily with the proposals which he had to offer for the consideration of King and Ministry.

These proposals were (1) to establish a fortified post upon the Gulf of Mexico, within one year after his arrival there; (2) to fortify on the Mississippi, about fifty leagues above its mouth, and there collect an army of over 15,000 Indians; thus commanding the whole river valley, and forming a base for military operations against the Spaniards in the most northern province of Mexico. His plan also embraced the adding (on his way) 50 buccaneers at St. Domingo, and 4,000 Indian warriors from his Fort St. Louis on the Illinois. For this design, he asked for a vessel of 30 guns, a few cannon for the forts, and 200 men, to be raised in France, armed, paid, and maintained at the King's expense. If, by peace with Spain, he was prevented for more than three years from the full execution of this contract, he bound himself to refund to the Crown all the costs of the enterprise, or forfeit the government of the posts thus established. The scheme which he thus outlined to the French monarch and his Minister Seignelay,

of bidding defiance to Spanish incursions, and of controlling the entire trade and colonization of the entire Mississippi valley, was most gladly and promptly accepted by them. La Forest, La Salle's lieutenant, being then in Paris, was dispatched to Canada, empowered to recover and reoccupy, in La Salle's name, the Forts Frontenac and St. Louis of the Illinois, from which he had been dispossessed by Governor La Barre; and to the latter the King personally wrote, ordering him to restore to La Salle, or his representative, all the property of which he had been unjustly deprived. As to the equipment of the expedition, he was given four vessels, instead of the two for which he had asked, viz., the *Joly*, a 36-gun ship of the royal navy, a 6-gun ship, a store-ship, and a ketch. Soldiers were enrolled, besides 30 volunteers, many of whom were gentlemen and of the better class of the bourgeois; several families, and girls matrimonially inclined, as colonists; together with pilots, mechanics, laborers, and six friars and priests of the Sulpitian and Récollet orders.¹

Unfortunately, the expedition, from the first, was hampered with a divided command. La Salle's request had been for its sole command, with a subaltern officer, one or two pilots, and entire control of the route they should take, and of the troops and colonists on land. But the command of the ships was given, by the Minister, to one Beaujeu, an old and experienced officer of the royal navy — and even before the expedition set sail, a collision of opinions and authority arose between the two heads of the expedition, which imperiled its success.²

Finally, on the 24th of July, 1684, the expedition sailed, from Rochelle. Its further history is to be found in the following pages of Joutel's Journal.

¹ La Salle's brother, the Abbe Cavelier, Fathers Membre, Douay and Le Clerc, all more or less afterward associated with American exploration, were among this clerical contingent.

² Most interesting as to these troubles, and La Salle's mental condition at this critical point, are the pages 97-109, vol. II of Parkman's *La Salle* (Champlain edition).

Biographical Note.

HENRI JOUTEL, the writer of this narrative, was a native of Rouen, in France. His father had formerly been head-gardener to Henri Cavelier, the uncle of René Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, the explorer, whose presence and projects for a new voyage to the Mississippi were the engrossing subjects of interest to his fellow townsmen of Rouen just at the time of Joutel's return from a seventeen years' service in the army.¹

Being then in the prime of his young manhood, of an adventurous spirit, unhampered by family responsibilities, and free for any new employment, he very naturally became a volunteer in the enterprise of his distinguished fellow-townsmen. He evidently possessed a fair education for that day, and a character for reliability and experience, which, together with his personal and business qualifications, rendered him most acceptable to La Salle's projected undertaking. His social position in his native town, if we may infer from the title of "Mr." usually prefixed to his name, was that of a *bourgeois* — that class in the community which for centuries has been the mainstay and source of France's stability and prosperity. In the mixed military and naval expedition which sailed under La Salle's orders, his position seems not to have been that of a commissioned officer, though he styles himself in his Journal, "a Commander," but rather that of a personal lieutenant

¹ "Sixteen or seventeen years," as he says in his Journal, under date of July, 1684; "so that, as he could hardly have entered the service before the age of 18 or 20, he must have been, at the time he linked his fortunes to those of La Salle, about 35 or 37 years old — hence born, probably, about 1643-5."

and confidant¹ of the Commander-in-Chief — in other words, a superintendent of such matters as pertained to the provisioning, sheltering, and general care and regulation of the interests and comfort of the settlers, both male and female, who formed a part of the expedition.

His services to the enterprise of which he, fortunately, became the historian, as they are simply and circumstantially narrated in this Journal, and corroborated by contemporary evidence, prove that La Salle's choice of him, as "the man of affairs" of the expedition was well-founded and fortunate. Practical, methodical, resourceful in every emergency, tactful in his dealings with all the members of the heterogeneous company with whom he was associated, and inflexibly loyal to his Chief, Joutel fully proved his worth.

Twice, at least, his life was in danger, from the machinations of mutineers. The first time, the plot was discovered in time, and, having received an order to join La Salle with all his force, he delivered the criminals to the latter. And again, being left in charge of the Fort St. Louis, with 34 men, Joutel was disturbed by a plot to kill him or deprive him of his office — from which once more his life, which ultimately proved so valuable to the party, was preserved.

His Journal, here printed, is valuable from its exactness of detail, and the fact that, in many places, it corrects the careless or misleading statements of others, and it is remarkably free from the egotism which disfigures or weakens the narratives of some early travelers in America. Parkman, comparing it with other accounts written by survivors of the expedition, says emphatically, "It gives the impression of sense, intelligence and candor, throughout."

No shadow of complicity in the murder of La Salle attaches to Joutel. That he did not more strongly assert himself in the critical emergencies which succeeded that tragical event, was due, probably, to a combination of circumstances.

¹ "Intendant" is the official French term.

The mutineers who had accomplished the deed were overwhelmingly dominant, and the lives of the whole party trembled in the balance. Joutel was no coward; but the situation in which they found themselves called for the exercise of that prudence which is oftentimes the better part of valor. Neither was he ambitious, so that, when the little band of seven who sought to separate themselves from the assassins, finally started upon their long and perilous journey toward the North, we find, as if by common consent, that the Abbe Cavalier figures as the nominal leader. Undoubtedly, this was due partly to the respect felt by Joutel for the aged ecclesiastic by virtue of his sacred office, as well as by his own life-long association, at Rouen, with the family of Cavalier; and also by motives of policy in thus securing for the party the *prestige* of being headed by a La Salle — a “name to conjure with” amid the savage tribes through whom they must pass.

Yet, undoubtedly, it was mainly to Joutel's prudence, courage, and practical knowledge that the little band of survivors — after their marvelous journey of over 800 miles through trackless wilds, and amid innumerable dangers from flood, disease, and savages — finally reached Quebec, and ultimately their beloved France, in October, 1688.

The motives previously alluded to as influencing Joutel in waiving his right to the leadership of the party, on its return to civilization, may, probably, sufficiently account for (even if they do not fully condone) his connivance (as also that of Father Douay) in the concealment, for over two years, of the fact of La Salle's death — a deception undoubtedly originating with the Abbe Cavalier, who desired thereby to get possession of property which might otherwise have been seized by creditors of his deceased brother the Sieur Robert La Salle, the explorer. Parkman says (*note* to p. 207, vol. ii, *La Salle's Voyages*, Champlain edition) that “the prudent Abbe died rich and very old, at the home of a relative, having inherited a large estate after his return from America.”

Joutel appears to have spent the rest of his life at Rouen, where Charlevoix says he saw him in 1723; and speaks of him as a very upright man, and evidently the only trustworthy member of La Salle's party. Of Joutel's *Journal* he also speaks in the same strain.¹

¹ His words are "un fort honnête homme, et seul delatroupe de M. de La Salle, sur qui célèbre voyageur pût compter."

A
JOURNAL
Of the LAST
VOYAGE

Perform'd by
Monfr. de la Sale,
TO THE
GULPH of MEXICO,
To find out the
Mouth of the *Mississipi* River;

CONTAINING,

An Account of the Settlements he endeavour'd to make on the Coast of the aforefaid Bay, his unfortunate Death, and the Travels of his Companions for the Space of Eight Hundred Leagues across that Inland Country of *America*, now call'd *Louisiana*, (and given by the King of *France* to *M. Crozat*,) till they came into *Canada*.

Written in French by Monsieur JOUTEL,
A Commander in that Expedition;
And Translated from the Edition just publish'd at Paris.

With an exact Map of that vast Country, and a Copy of the Letters Patents granted by the K. of *France* to *M. Crozat*.

L O N D O N, Printed for *A. Bell* at the *Cross-Keys* and *Bible* in *Cornhill*, *B. Lintott* at the *Cross Keys* in *Fleet-street*, and *J. Baker* in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1714.



THE
French BOOKSELLER
TO THE
READER.

The Manuscript of this Journal hapning to fall into my Hands, and having shewn it to some Persons well vers'd in these Affairs, they were of Opinion it deserv'd to be printed; especially at this Time, when travels are so much in Request, and in regard this is now seasonable, on Account of the Description it gives of the famous River Missisipi and of the Country of Louisiana, where it is intended to make great Settlements. Besides, this Relation is uncommon, curious and ingaging, both in Regard to the Honour and Advantage of the Nation, for as much as it contains the Attempts and the bold and glorious Undertakings of our French Adventurers, who not satisfied, like others, with discovering the Borders and Coasts of unknown Countries, proceed to penetrate into the Inland, through a thousand Dangers and Hazards of their Lives. Is it not very commendable in them, to make us fully ac-

quainted with that great remaining Part of the World, which for so many Ages continued unknown to our Forefathers, till about two hundred Years ago Christopher Columbus discover'd it, and Americus Vesputius going over soon after, gave it his Name, causing it to be call'd America? One of those whom I desired to peruse this Manuscript, has a little polish'd it, pursuant to the Orders I receiv'd; and he having been a considerable Traveller, was a proper Person to judge of and put it into a Dress fit to appear in publick. The Letter he writ to me, being not only instructive, in Relation to the Journal, but of Use as a curious Supplement to it, I thought the inserting of it would be acceptable. It is as follows.

S I R,

I Return you your Manuscript; the Reading of it has reviv'd the Satisfaction I once took in my Travels; it has oblig'd me to read over again those of several Persons, who have writ of *Canada*, and carry'd me in Imagination through those vast, barbarous and unknown Countries, with much more Ease and less Danger than was done by the Hero of this Relation. He certainly deserves that honourable Title, and having read his Adventures, I could not forbear saying with the Poet

*Illi robur & æs triplex
Circa Pectus erat.*

For what an extraordinary Strength, what a Vigour of Body and Mind was requisite for him to project, to undertake and to go thro' with so unusual, so bold and so difficult an Enterprize. A Discovery of above eight hundred Leagues of barbarous and unknown Countries, without any beaten Roads, without Towns, and without any of those Conveniencies, which render Travelling more easy in all other Parts. All the Land-Carriage is reduc'd to walking afoot; being often without any other Shoes but a Piece of a Bullock's Hide wrapp'd about the Feet; carrying a Fire-

lock, a Snapsack,¹ Tools and some Commodities to barter with the Natives. It is true that accidentally and but very rarely a Horse is found to help out a little.

If they must venture upon the Water, there are only some wretched Canoes, made either of the Barks of Trees or of Bullocks Hides, and those they must often carry or drag along the Land, when the Falls of the Rivers obstruct making use of them. All the Bed is lying on the bare Ground, exposed to the Inclemencies of the Air, to be devour'd by Alligators and bit by Rattle Snakes; without Bread, Wine, Salt and all other Comforts of Life, and this for some Years. The Diet altogether consists in a poor Pap or Hasty-Pudding made of the Meal of *Indian* Corn, Fish half broil'd or ill boil'd, and some Beef or wild Goats Flesh, dry'd in the Air and Smoke. Besides, what a Trouble is it to invent Signs to be understood by so many several Nations, each of which has it's peculiar Language? All this an Adventurer must resolve with himself to go through, who designs to make Discoveries in *Canada*; and it would be hard to believe this, did not all those who write of it exactly agree in this Particular.

However that Country is good and pleasant, at least towards the South, which is what is here spoken of. The Temperature of the Climate is admirable, the Soil excellent for Tillage, and it is extraordinary fertile in all Sorts of Grain and Fruit; which appears by those the Land produces of it self in great Plenty. The Hills and Woods produce Timber for all Uses and Fruit Trees, as well of cold as hot Countries. There are Vines which want but little Improvement; there are Sugar-Canes, large Meadows, and navigable Rivers full of Fish. It is true they are infested with Alligators, but with a little Care they are to be avoided; as may the Rattle-Snakes, which are extraordinary venomous, but never bite unless they are hurt. There are thousands of wild Bullocks, larger than ours, their Flesh

¹ Knapsack, in modern parlance.

good, and instead of Hair, they have a Sort of curl'd Wool extraordinary fine. There are Abundance of Deer, wild Goats and all Sorts of wild Fowl, and more especially of Turkeys. As there are Poisons and Venoms, so there are immediate and wonderful Antidotes.

We must not look there for rich and stately Cities, or lofty Structures, or any of those Wonders of Architecture, or the Remains and ancient Monuments of the Vanity of great Men; but we may there admire Nature in its beautiful Simplicity, as it came from the Hands of its Creator; without having been alter'd or depraved by Ambition or Art.

But is so vast and so beautiful a Country only for Beasts, Birds and Fishes! O inconceivable Wonder! There is an infinite Number of People, divided into Nations, living in Cottages made of the Barks of Trees, or cover'd with Reeds or Hides, when they are not abroad at War, or Hunting, or Fishing, almost naked, without any other Bed but a Bullock's Hide, or any Household-Stuff but a Pot or Kettle, an Axe and some Platters made of Bark. They take their Sustenance, as it comes in their Way, and like the Beasts; they have no Care, do not value Wealth, sing, dance, smoke, eat, sleep, hunt, fish; are independant, make War, and when an Opportunity offers, take Revenge of any Injury in the most cruel Manner they are able. Such is the Life of those Savages. Tho' there be some in the Southern Parts, not quite so stupid and brutal as those in the North, yet they are both Savages, who think of Nothing but what is present, love Nothing but what is obvious to the Senses, incapable of comprehending any Thing that is Spiritual; sharp and ingenious in what is for their own Advantage, without any Sense of Honour or Humanity; horribly cruel, perfectly united among themselves to their Nation and their Allies; but revengeful and merciless towards their Enemies. To conclude, their Shape, tho' hideous, shews they are Men; but their Genius and Manners render them like the worst of Beasts.

A modern Author, who has liv'd in *Canada*, and in other Respects has writ well enough, has perhaps fancy'd, he might distinguish himself, and be thought more understanding than other Men in discovering the Genius of those People, by assigning more Ingenuity and Penetration to the Savages, than is generally allow'd them. He sometimes makes them to argue too strongly and too subtilly against the Mysteries of Christian Religion, and his Relation has given just Occasion to suspect, that he is himself the Libertine and Talking Savage, to whom he has given the artful Malignity of his Notions and Arguments.

La Hou-tan's for-ged Dis-course with a Sav-age, wherein he renders himself ridiculous.

As for the Genius of the Savages, I am of Opinion, we ought to believe the Missioners; for they are not less capable than other Men to discover the Truth, and they have at least as much Probity to make it known. It is likely, that they, who have for an hundred Years past, wholly apply'd themselves, according to the Duty of their Function, to study those poor Images of Men, should not be acquainted with them? Or would not their Conscience have check'd them, had they told a Lye in that Particular? Now all the Missioners agree, that allowing there are some Barbarians less wicked and brutal than the rest; yet there are none good, nor thoroughly capable of such Things as are above the Reach of our Senses; and that whatsoever they are, there is no relying on them; there is always cause to suspect them, and in short, before a Savage can be made a Christian, it is requisite to make him a Man; and we look upon those Savages as Men, who have neither King nor Law, and what is most deplorable, no God; for if we rightly examine their Sentiments and their Actions, it does not appear that they have any Sort of Religion, or well form'd Notion of a Deity. If some of them, upon certain Occasions, do sometimes own a First or Sovereign Being, or do pay some Veneration to the Sun. As to the first Article, they deliver themselves in such a confuse Manner, and with so many Contradictions and Extravagancies, that it plainly appears, they neither

The Na-tives of Canada brutal.

know nor believe anything of it; and as for the second, it is only a bare Custom, without any serious Reflection on their Part.

A miserable Nation, more void of the Light of Heaven, and even that of Nature, than so many other Nations in the *East Indies*, who, tho' brutal and stupid as to the Knowledge of the Deity, yet are not without some Sort of Worship, and have their Hermits and *Fakirs* who endeavour by the Practice of horrid Penances, to gain the Favour of that Godhead, and thereby shew they have some real Notion of it. Nothing of that Sort is to be found among our *American* Savages, and in Conclusion, it may be said of them in General, that they are a People without a God.

Our *French*, who are born in Canada all of them well shap'd, and Men of Sense and Worth, cannot endure to have their Savages thus run down. They affirm they are like other Men, and only want Education and being improv'd; but besides that we may believe they say so to save the Honour of their Country, we advance nothing here but what is grounded on the Report of many able and worthy Persons, who have writ of it, after being well inform'd on the Spot. We are therefore apt to believe, that there is a Distinction to be made at present between two Sorts of Savages in *Canada*, *viz.* those who have been conversant among the *Europeans* for sixty or eighty Years past, and the others who are daily discover'd; and it is of the latter that we speak here more particularly, and to whom we assign all those odious and wretched Qualities of the Savages of *North America*; for it is well known, that the first Sort of them, as for Instance, the *Hurons*, the *Algonquins*, the *Iroquois*, the *Illinois* and perhaps some others are now pretty well civiliz'd, so that their Reason begins to clear up, and they may become capable of Instruction.

Amazing and incomprehensible, but at the same Time adorable Disposition of Divine Providence! We see here a vast Tract of the Earth, of an immense Extent, of a wonderful Soil for Tillage and Fertility in all Sorts of Fruit

and Grain; of an admirable Temperature as to the Air, which appears by the very numerous Inhabitants being scarce subject to any Diseases, and in that the Sex, which among us is weak, is there Strong and Vigorous, bringing forth their Children with little or no Pain, and suckling them amidst Labour and Fatigues, without any of those Miseries they are liable to in our Countries. Yet that vast and beautiful Country, describ'd in this Journal, so much favour'd with Worldly Blessings, has been for so many Ages destitute of the Heavenly.

*Strong
Women.*

The infinite Numbers of People inhabiting it are Men, and have scarce any thing but the Shape; they are God's Creatures, and do not so much as know, much less serve him. Those who have the Courage and Boldness to travell through the Countries of such Savages, and those who read the Relations of such Travellers, ought to take Care how they make any rash Reflections upon this Point, or pry too deeply into it; for they may chance to lose themselves in their Thoughts. The shortest and the safest Course is, in such Cases, to adore the inconceivable Profoundness of the Creator's Wisdom; to give a Check to all our Enquiries and Curiosities, with the Apostle's Exclamation, *O the Depth of the Riches both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his Judgments and his Ways past finding out!* And never ceasing to return Thanks to his Goodness, for having so abundantly supply'd us with his Light and Grace, to conjure him to impart the same to those poor distress'd *Americans*, and that he who is Almighty, will of those Stones make Children of *Abraham*. This all Christians are oblig'd incessantly to pray for, because as Brutish and Stupid as those Savages are, they are still our Brethren, since like us descended from *Adam* and *Noah*.

How much are we then oblig'd to those bold Travellers, who undertake new Discoveries, who to the Hazard of their Lives, at their own Expence, and with such extraordinary Toils, go to find out for us, not only numerous Objects of

our Curiosity and Admiration, which were before unknown to us, but who also discover to us a numerous Kindred, which is not ever the less such, for having been so long unknown to us. What if it be brutal and indocible, it will be the more Meritorious to Labour at Civilizing of and making it capable of receiving the Lights of Reason and of Faith. We can never sufficiently express our Gratitude to those who apply themselves to the making of new Discoveries; the more Difficulties that attend them, the more we are beholding to those who undertake them. Supposing that Avarice, Ambition, a restless Temper, or a desperate Fortune, are very often the Occasions of such Undertakings; yet God, who can draw Good out of Evil, makes all those Passions subservient to his Glory, and the Salvation of his Elect, and if long Travels do not commonly make Saints of the Travellers, it is their own Fault. However, they at least prepare the Way to the Sanctification of so many Barbarians, beating a Road for the Missioners, who go to instruct those People. Thus all the World is beholden to them; the Savages for the Knowledge of God that is procur'd them; and we for finding by their Means an infinite Number of People before unknown, who will join with us in Serving and Glorifying the Creator of the Universe.

Granting that the said Travellers are not sometimes exact, or agree among themselves in their Relations, their Descriptions and their Maps; this must be an unavoidable Fault in Discoverers; but even that is advantageous to the Publick, for as much as their Successors are excited to examine those Points more strictly, to correct, explain and ascertain those Mistakes.

In acknowledgment therefore of the Service done us by those Illustrious Adventurers and to make them some Sort of Amends for their Sufferings, let us transmit their Names to Posterity in our Writings; let us applaud their Actions when we read them, and let us commend their Relations. This here, most certainly deserves to be read and commended, for it is Curious, Extraordinary and Tragical. It

is also, as has been said before, engaging, at this Conjunction, when there is a Design of making Settlements in those Countries, it mentions, the Consequence whereof may be most Honourable and Advantageous to the Nation. The Travel thro' that Country is one of the greatest and most full of Difficulties that has been perform'd; the Relation of it being made by an Eye Witness, and in a natural, plain and particular Manner, deserves to be credited; but being only a Journal, it is not capable of admitting of Ornaments or Embellishments. The Reader will be pleas'd to excuse the Repetition of the same Words in it, on Account of the Impossibility of doing otherwise, and will think it enough that the Barrenness of the Narration is made Amends for by the Curiosity of the Subjects. I am of Opinion the small Notes I have added will not be displeasing, because they explain some Particulars, which are not very intelligible to such as are not us'd to read many Travels.

After having said the Good and the Bad of this *North America*, mentioning the Beauty and Excellency of its Climate and the Brutality of its People, and recited the infinite Hardships, those who design to travel must resolve to undergo, I am of Opinion it will be proper to say something of the late Monsieur *de la Sale*, who is the principal Person, and as it were, the Hero of this Relation, tho' having been murdered by his own Men, he fell the unfortunate Victim of the Discovery here treated of. It is also convenient to make known what went before that, which is contain'd in this Journal, and the present happy Consequence of that fatal Enterprize. Here follows what I have of my own particular Knowledge, and by what has been written.

Robert Cavelier, commonly call'd Monsieur *de la Sale*, a Native of *Roan*, of a good Family, having been educated in Piety and Learning, went over very young into *Canada* and took Delight in Trade, but more in Projects of new Discoveries up the Inland of those vast Countries. Intending to settle there and make that his Country, he purchased an Habitation in the Island of *Mont-real*, where has been built

*Account of
Monsieur
de la Sale.*

the second Town of *Canada*, sixty Leagues above *Quebeck*, which is the Capital, being also a Bishoprick, and the Residence of the Governor, the Intendant and the supreme Council. There are but only those two Towns in the Country, besides some Villages. They are both seated on the great River of *St. Laurence*, which coming from the S. W. is form'd or increased by the Waters of five prodigious fresh Water Lakes, running out one into another, and through them it passes to run down to discharge itself in the Ocean, at a very spacious Mouth, making Way for the Ships that design to penetrate into *Canada*.

Many Discoveries had been made to the Northward, before Monsieur *de la Sale's* Time; because there being Plenty of very good Furs, the Traders of *Quebeck* and *Mont-real*, by Means of the Adventurers call'd *Wood-Men*,¹ from their traveling thro' the Woods, had penetrated very far up the Country that Way; but none had advanc'd far towards the South or South-West, beyond Fort *Frontenac*, which is on the Lake *Ontario*, the nearest this Way of the five great Lakes. However, upon the Report of the Natives, it was supposed, that great and advantageous Discoveries might be made. There had been much Talk of the rich Mines of *St. Barbara*, in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, and some were tempted to give them a Visit.

Something was known of the famous River *Missisipi*, which it was supposed might fall into the South Sea, and open a Way to it. These Conjectures working upon Monsieur *de la Sale*, who being zealous for the Honour of his Nation, designed to signalize the *French* Name, on Account of extraordinary Discoveries, beyond all that went before him; he form'd the Design and resolv'd to put it in Execution. He was certainly very fit for it, and succeeded at the Expense of his Life; for no Man has done so much in that Way as he did for the Space of twenty Years he spent in that Employment. He was a Man of a regular Behaviour,

His Character.

¹ Coureurs de bois.

of a large Soul, well enough learned, and understanding in the Mathematicks, designing, bold, undaunted, dexterous, insinuating, not to be discourag'd at any Thing, ready at extricating himself out of any Difficulties, no Way apprehensive of the greatest Fatigues, wonderful steady in Adversity, and what was of extraordinary Use, well enough versed in several Savage Languages. *M. de la Sale* having such extraordinary Talents, whereof he had given sufficient Proofs upon several Occasions, gain'd the Esteem of the Governors of *Canada*; and *Messieurs de Courcelles, Talon* and *de Frontenac* successively express'd the same, by often employing him in Affairs for the Honour and Advantage of the Colony.

The Government of the Fort of *Frontenac*, which is the Place farthest advanc'd among the Savages, was committed to him, and he going over into *France*, in the Year 1675, the King made him Proprietor of it, upon Condition he should put it into a better Condition than it was, which he did, as soon as return'd to *Canada*. Then came back again to *Paris*, full of the new Informations he had gain'd touching the River *Missisipi*, the Country runs through, the Mines, especially those of Lead and Copper, the navigable Rivers, and the Trade that might be carried on of Furs and the fine Wooll of those wild Bullocks, whereof there are infinite Numbers in the Forests. Being also furnish'd with better Accounts of that Country, than the Fables that were then publish'd, by the Name of a Voyage of the *Sieur Joliet*, he was well receiv'd at Court, and dispatch'd with the necessary Orders for proceeding on his Discoveries.

The great Reputation *Monsieur de la Sale* had gain'd, and his mighty Projects, occasion'd a Jealousy in some and Envy in others. His own Countrymen thwarted his Designs; but he surmounted all those Obstacles and return'd into *Canada*, about the Year 1678, with the Chevalier *Tonty*, an *Italian* Gentleman, a Person of Worth and that had serv'd, whom he gain'd to his Enterprize. He also pick'd up in the Country forty or fifty Persons fit for that

*Is made
Proprietor
of Fort
Frontenac.*

*His Reputation makes
Enemies.*

Expedition, and among them were three Recolets, whom he carry'd over to try what might be done as to Christianity among the Savages; he was well acquainted with, and had a just Esteem for the Virtue, the Capacity and the Zeal of those good, religious Men, who alone first undertook the Mission into that new World, and who being seconded by others, have carry'd it on there, with so much Edification.

Monsieur *de la Sale* having spent two Years in going and coming, still thwarted by those who envy'd him in the Country, to such a Degree, that had it not been for an Antidote, he must have dy'd of Poison given him by some Villains, could not order his Affairs and begin his Expedition till the Year 1682. He set out at length, and to the End his Discovery of the *Missisipi* might be compleat, he caus'd Father *Hennepin*, a Recolet, with some others, to travel to the Northward, that they might find out the Source of that River, and they found it, about the 50th Degree of North Latitude. For his own Part, he proceeded to the Westward and found the River of the *Islinois*, which he call'd the River of *Seignelay*, and following its Course, came into the *Missisipi*, where the other discharges it self. He then concluded he had no more to do, but to run down to its Mouth, whether in the South Sea or the Gulph of *Mexico*. All along its Banks he found many Savage Nations, with whom, by Means of his Presents, he enter'd into Alliances, and gave the Country the Name of *Louisiana*, to honour the Name and Memory of our August Monarch, in whose Reign those Discoveries were made. At length, the Course of the *Missisipi* convey'd Monsieur *de la Sale* to its Mouths, as falling into the Gulph of *Mexico* in two Streams, and he arriv'd there in the Month of *April* 1682 or 1683, for the Dates of those who have writ concerning it, make either of those Years. He stay'd there some Days, to take Observations and place some Marks which he might know again, when he return'd. Being satisfied with having found some Part of what he sought, he return'd the same Way he had gone, and came again to

Source of
the *Missisipi*.

Islinois
River.

Quebeck in *Canada*, in order to go over to *France*, and thence to make a Tryal to find that Mouth of the *Missisipi* by the Gulph of *Mexico*, which he had already discover'd by the Way of *Canada*, and to secure it; for he thought it much more advantageous to know it by the Way of the Sea, than to go thither by Land, because the Voyage through *Canada* is much longer and more troublesome, and can be perform'd but once a Year, whereas by the Way of the Bay of *Mexico* it is not longer, but is much more commodious, and may be perform'd in all Seasons, either going or coming. He was also sensible that the said Mouth being once discover'd by Sea, afforded an easier and safer Communication with *Canada*, running up that noble River, the Navigation whereof is not interrupted by Falls, nor Torrents for above sixty Leagues towards its Source.

These Considerations mov'd Monsieur *de la Sale* to take another Voyage into *France*, where his Expedition having been commended and his new Project approv'd of, the King order'd him Vessels to return and carry on his Enterprize, the Particulars whereof are to be found in this Journal. That Affair, so well begun, seem'd to promise very advantageous Consequences; but it miscarried through the Perfidiousness and Villany of that noble Adventurer's own People.

This is what I have judg'd might serve as an Introduction to your Journal, if it shall not be thought to dishonour it, you may place it before the said Journal, and that which follows at the End of it, which will shew how far that great Enterprize of the Discovery of the *Missisipi* has been carried.

The other Part here mention'd is at the End of the Journal.

THE
P R E F A C E .

Written by

Sieur *de* MITCHELL,

Who Methodiz'd this Journal.

Notwithstanding the late Monsieur de la Sale's Voyage had a most unfortunate End, as to his own Person, yet that will not hinder Posterity, from ever allowing him the Title of a most renowned Traveller.

The History of his Enterprize will be acceptable to future Ages, for laying before them, the extraordinary Genius, the invincible Courage, and the undaunted Resolution of such a Man, who could contrive and execute the Means for discovering the remaining Part of the World.

And in regard that the Particulars of the Discovery of those large and immense Provinces, will always be the Object of curious and understanding Persons, it is not to be wonder'd, that after what has been writ by Father Hennepin, a Recolet, the Chevalier Tonty and some others, we here now publish an Historical Journal of the last Voyage

Monsieur de la Sale undertook into the Gulf of Mexico, to the Country of Louisiana, to finish what he had projected at his former Voyage, had not the Treachery of his own Men cut him off.

*This Journal of Monsieur Joutel, whereof Monsieur Tonty makes mention in the Book that has been printed of the last Discoveries in America, Folio 319, has this peculiar, that it exactly contains what hapned to Monsieur de la Sale, Day by Day, in that fatal Voyage, since his Departure from Rochelle to his death, and till the Return of his Brother Monsieur Cavelier the Priest, Monsieur Cavelier his Nephew, the Reverend Father Anastasius, the Recolet, and the said *Sieur Joutel*, who in Order to return to France, took that long Journey by Land, from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada, being a Tract of above 800 Leagues.*

Many Adventures of all Sorts, most of which are Tragical, will please the curious Reader; and above all he will admire the Protection of Divine Providence, in Conducting and Preserving that small Company throughout those vast Regions, and among so many barbarous Nations.

We do not here pretend to Criticise upon the Work of Father Hennepin, or that of Monsieur Tonty; but even their own Favourers cannot take it ill, that this Author does not sometimes say as they do; that he plainly delivers what he saw, and that he exposes to publick View all the Truths he was an Eye Witness to, without magnifying or inventing.

It is nevertheless true, that they may be all excus'd as to some Particulars; Father Hennepin and Monsieur Tonty may have seen some Things, that did not come to the Knowledge of Monsieur Joutel; but there is a Fact of great Consequence in the History of Monsieur de la Sale, which must not be pass'd over in Silence.

*It is, that Monsieur Tonty, in his Book affirms, that Monsieur de la Sale at length found the Mouth of the Missisipi, and Monsieur Joutel asserts the contrary, and says, that is so far from being true, that during his last Progress towards the Cenis, when the said *Sieur Joutel* was with him, and had*

never been parted, Monsieur de la Sale's principal Care was to enquire of all the Nations they pass'd through, where the Missisipi was, and could never hear any thing of it; that this is evidently made out, because if Monsieur de la Sale had found the Mouth of that River, he would infallibly have taken another Way, and other Measures, and all the Appearances are on this Side, as may be seen in this Relation.

However, this must be said in Behalf of Monsieur Tonty, that he deliver'd it upon the Report of Monsieur Cavelier the Priest, and Brother to Monsieur de la Sale; which Monsieur Cavelier might have Reasons to give out they had discover'd the Missisipi, upon the same Views as oblig'd him to conceal his Brother's Death.

Now in regard we shall see Monsieur de la Sale, for some time ranging along the Coasts of North America, to find out the Mouth of that River, it will be proper to inform those who have not seen his first Voyage, and shew them how it hapned that his Search prov'd in vain, and he was oblig'd to land in another Place.

After Monsieur de la Sale had discover'd that vast Continent, which is a Part of North America, from Canada, by the Way of Montreal, going up the River of St. Laurence, then through the Country of the Iroquois, the Islinois and others, all which he call'd Louisiana, his Design was to find a shorter and a safer Way, than that he had Travell'd by Land.

For this Reason it was, that having upon his first Discovery found the great River, call'd by the Barbarians Missisipi or Mechasipi, according to Father Hennepin, and to which he gave the Name of Colbert, guessing by its Course that it fell into the Bay of Mexico, he resolv'd with himself to find out the Mouth of it.

In short, he ran down that River, with more Danger and Toil than can be imagin'd, found it parted into two Streams and follow'd that which was most to the Northward, to the Place where it is lost in the Sea. He took the

Latitude that Mouth lay in, and found it was between 28 and 29 Degrees North, as Monsieur Joutel affirms he heard him say. He left Marks there, return'd the same Way to Canada and thence into France, well pleased with his Discovery, which would have been very glorious, had he succeeded in his second Voyage.

But whether he did not take his Measures right, when he made his Observations ashore, or whether that River discharges it self at a flat Coast, and only leaves some considerable Mark of its Channel for such as come by Sea; it is most certain, that when he came into the Bay of Mexico, he sought for the same Mouth in Vain, during the Space of three Weeks, and was oblig'd to go ashore to the S. W. of the Place, where it really was.

Monsieur Tonty, in his Book, Fol. 192, tells us, that he was present when Monsieur de la Sale took the Latitude of the Mouth of the Missisipi, at his first Voyage, and says it was between twenty two and twenty three Degrees North; but that is a Mistake, which must be assigned either to the Printer, or Transcriber, for in the Map the said Monsieur Tonty has added to his Book, he places the said Mouth in about twenty six Degrees and a Half of North Latitude, and there is Reason to believe he errs in that too.

*Monsieur Joutel and some others are of Opinion, that the Mouth of that Branch Monsieur de la Sale went down, is in the Bay of the Holy Ghost, and actually between the twenty eighth and twenty ninth Degrees of North Latitude, as Monsieur de la Sale found it. As for the other Channel, the same *Sieur Joutel* believes it is farther towards the S. W. and about the Shoals they met with about the 6th of January, 1685, between the twenty seventh and twenty eighth Degrees of North Latitude, when they were sailing along the Coast of the Bay of Mexico, and that those Shoals were the Marks of a River discharging it self there, which they neglected to inquire into. If that be so, Monsieur de la Sale was very near it, and even pass'd along before both*

the Mouths, but unfortunately, without perceiving them, which was the main Cause of his Death and the Ruin of his Enterprize.

To conclude, it must be granted, that as the Return of that small Number of Persons from a Country so remote and through so many Dangers, is a visible Effect of the Divine Protection; so it is also an Effect of Heavenly Justice to have preserv'd those Witnesses, and to have brought them Home into Monsieur de la Sale's Country, to retrieve his Reputation, which had been sully'd by his Enemies.

Monsieur de la Sale would have been taken for a Dreamer, and even for an Impostor; his Enterprize had been condemn'd, and his Memory blasted; but God would not permit the Honour of a Man of such singular Merit to suffer; it pleas'd him to preserve and bring Home unquestionable Witnesses, who, by Word of Mouth and other undoubted Proofs of the notable Discoveries made by Monsieur de la Sale, have stopp'd the Mouths of his Enemies, and made out the Truth of what has been asserted at the Beginning of this Discourse, viz. that Monsieur de la Sale only wanted good Fortune to secure him the Title of a great Man and a renowned Traveller.



Advertisement, to the British Gentry.

Whereas all Gentlemen ought to fit themselves betimes for those Employments which naturally fall to their Share, preferable to their Fellow Subjects; and that they who design in particular to serve their Prince Abroad, are obliged to understand the Interests and Pretensions of Foreign States, as well as the Laws and Constitution of their own Country: It has been judg'd very serviceable, by Persons of great Experience, to have the most celebrated Monsieur Wicquefort's Ambassador translated into the English Tongue, as being the only Book that perfectly exhausts this Matter, little being written on the Subject by other Nations in Comparison of the Italians, whose Books are too defective and abstracted for common Practice. Proposals will shortly be published, for printing the said Book by Subscription, by the Undertaker Bernard Lintott between the two Temple-Gates.

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AN
HISTORICAL JOURNAL
OF THE
Late Monsieur *de la Sale's*
LAST
VOYAGE
INTO
North America
To Discover the
River *MISSISSIPI.*

At the Time when Monsieur *de la Sale* was preparing for his last Voyage into *North America*, I happen'd to be at *Roan*, the Place where he and I were both born, being return'd from the Army, where I had serv'd sixteen or seventeen Years. *It is Mr. Joutel that speaks in this Journal.*

The Reputation gain'd by Monsieur *de la Sale*, the Greatness of his Undertaking, the Natural Curiosity which all men are possess'd with, and my Acquaintance with his Kindred, and with several of the Inhabitants of that City,

July 1684

who were to bear him Company, easily prevail'd with me to make one of the Number, and I was admitted as a volunteer.

Our Rendezvous was appointed at *Rochel*, where we were to embark. Messieurs *Cavelier*, the one Brother, the other Nephew to Monsieur de la Sale,¹ Messieurs *Chedeville*, *Planterozc*, *Thibault*, *Ory*, some others and I, repair'd thither in July 1684.

Departure
from Ro-
chel.

Monsieur de la Sale having provided all Things necessary for his Voyage, surmounted all the Difficulties laid in his Way by several ill-minded Persons, and receiv'd his Orders from Monsieur *Arnoult*, the Intendant at *Rochel*, pursuant to those he had receiv'd from the King, we sail'd on the 24th of July, 1684,² being twenty four Vessels, four of them for our Voyage, and the others for the Islands and *Canada*.

Persons
that went.

The four Vessels appointed for Monsieur de la Sale's Enterprize, had on Board about two hundred and eighty persons, including the Crews; of which Number there were one hundred Soldiers, with their Officers, one *Talon*, with his *Canada* Family, about thirty Volunteers, some young Women, and the rest hired People and Workmen of all Sorts, requisite for making of a Settlement.

Ships.

The first of the four Vessels was a Man of War, call'd *le Joly*, of about thirty six or forty Guns, commanded by Monsieur de *Beaujeu*, on which Monsieur de la Sale, his Brother the Priest, two *Recolet* Fryars, Messieurs *Dainville* and *Chedeville*, Priests, and I embark'd. The next was a little Frigate, carrying six Guns, which the King had given to Monsieur de la Sale, commanded by two Masters; a Flyboat of about three hundred Tuns Burden, belonging to the Sieur *Massiot*, Merchant at *Rochel*, commanded by

¹ The *Fr.* reads thus, "l'un frere & les autres neveux de . . ."—the one a brother of M. de La Salle, the others his nephews. There evidently were two nephews, named Cavalier—the name of La Salle's family; although in this journal the elder nephew is generally styled *M. Moranget*.

² Cavalier gives the date as 23d or 24th July.

the Sieur *Aignon*, and laden with all the Effects Monsieur *de la Sale* had thought necessary for his Settlement, and a small Ketch, on which Monsieur *de la Sale* had imbark'd thirty Tuns of Ammunition, and some Commodities design'd for *Santo Domingo*.¹ Aug. 1684

All the Fleet, being under the Command of Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, was order'd to keep together as far as *Cape Finisterre*, whence each was to follow his own Course; but this was prevented by an unexpected Accident. We were come into 45 Degrees 23 Minutes of North Latitude, and about 50 Leagues from *Rochel*, when the Boltsprit of our Ship, the *Joly*, on a sudden, broke short, which oblig'd us to strike all our other Sails, and cut all the Rigging the broken Boltsprit hung by. Boltsprit
lost.

Every man reflected on this Accident according to his Inclination. Some were of Opinion it was a Contrivance; and it was debated in Council, Whether we should proceed to *Portugal*, or return to *Rochel*, or *Rochfort*; but the latter Resolution prevail'd. The other Ships design'd for the Islands and *Canada*, parted from us, and held on their Course. We made back for the River of *Rochfort*, whither the other three Vessels follow'd us, and a Boat was sent in, to acquaint the Intendant with this Accident. The Boat returned some Hours after, towing along a Boltsprit, which was soon set in its Place, and after Monsieur *de la Sale* had confer'd with the Intendant, he left that Place on the first of *August*, 1684. Return to
Rochfort.

We sail'd again, steering W. and by S. and on the 8th of the same Month weather'd *Cape Finisterre*, which is in 43 Degrees of North Latitude, without meeting any Thing remarkable. The 12th, we were in the Latitude of *Lisbon*, or about 39 Degrees North. The 16th, we were in 36 Degrees, the Latitude of the *Streights*, and the 20th, discover'd the Island *Madera*, which is in 32 Degrees, and where Cape Fi-
nisterre.

Madera.

¹ *Fr.* "30 tonneux des Munitions ou Marchandises, qui estoit fretée pour *S. Domingae*"—thirty casks of munitions or commodities which were intended for *Santo Domingo*.

Aug. 1684

Monsieur de Beaujeu propos'd to Monsieur de la Sale to anchor, and take in Water and some Refreshments.

*Difference
between the
Commanders.*

Monsieur de la Sale was not of that Mind, on Account that we had been but twenty one Days from *France*, had sufficient Store of Water, ought to have taken aboard Refreshments enough, and it would be a Loss of eight or ten Days¹ to no Purpose; besides, that our Enterprize requir'd Secrecy, whereas the *Spaniards* might get some Information, by Means of the People of that Island, which was not agreeable to the King's Intention.

This Answer was not acceptable to Monsieur de Beaujeu, or the other Officers, nor even to the Ships Crew, who mutter'd at it very much, and it went so far, that a Passenger, call'd *Paget*, a *Hugonet* of *Rochel*, had the Insolence to talk to Monsieur de la Sale in a very passionate and disrespectful Manner, so that he was fain to make his Complaint to Monsieur de Beaujeu, and ask of him, Whether he had given any Incouragement to such a Fellow to talk to him after that Manner. Monsieur Beaujeu made him no Satisfaction. These Misunderstandings, with some others which happen'd before, being no Way advantageous to his Majesty's Service, laid the Foundation of² those tragical Events, which afterwards put an unhappy End to Monsieur de la Sale's Life and Undertaking, and occasion'd our Ruin.

*Flying
Fish.*

However, it was resolv'd not to come to an Anchor at that Island, whereupon Monsieur de Beaujeu said, That since it was so, we should put in no where but at the Island of *Santo Domingo*. We held on our Course, weather'd the Island of *Madera*, and began to see those little flying Fishes, which to escape the *Dorados*, or Gilt-Heads, that pursue them, leap out of the Water, take a little Flight of about a Pistol Shot, and then fall again into the Sea, but

¹ *Fr.* "sept ou huit jours."—seven or eight days.

² *Fr.* "furent les secrettes semences, que . . ."—which were the hidden seeds, which " . . ."

very often into Ships, as they are sailing by. That Fish Sept. 1684 is about as big as a Herring, and very good to eat.

On the 24th, we came into the Trade Wind, which continually blows from East to West, and is therefore call'd Trade Wind. by some Authors *Ventus subsolanus*, because it follows the Motion of the Sun. The 28th, we were in 27 Degrees 44 Minutes¹ of North Latitude, and in 344 of Longitude. The 30th, we had a Storm, which continu'd violent for two Days, but being right astern of us, we only lost Sight of the Ketch, for want of good Steering, but she join'd us again a few Days after.

The 6th of *September*, we were under the Tropic of *Cancer*, in 23 Degrees 30 Minutes of North Latitude and 319 of Longitude. There Mons. *de la Sale's* Obstructing the Ceremony the Sailors call Ducking, gave them Occasion to mutter again, and render'd himself privately odious. Ducking. So many have given an Account of the Nature of that Folly, that it would be needless to repeat it here; it may suffice to say, that there are three things to authorize it, 1. Custom. 2. The Oath administer'd to those who are duck'd, which is to this Effect, *That they will not permit any to pass the Tropics or the Line, without obliging them to the same Ceremony.* And 3, which is the most prevailing Argument, the Interest accruing to the Sailors upon that Occasion, by the Refreshments, Liquors or Money given them by the Passengers to be excus'd from that Ceremony.

Monsr. *de la Sale*, being inform'd that all Things were preparing for that Impertinent Ceremony of Ducking, and that a Tub full of Water was ready on the Deck (*the French Duck in a great Cask of Water, the English in the Sea, letting down the Person at the Yard Arm*)² sent Word, that he would not allow such as were under his Com-

¹ French *original* reads "45 minutes."

² The parenthesis does not appear in the French original.

Sept. 1684

mand to be subject to that Folly, which being told to Monsr. *de Beaujeu*, he forbid putting of it in Execution, to the great Dissatisfaction of the inferior Officers and Sailors, who expected a considerable Sum of Money and Quantity of Refreshments, or Liquors, because there were many Persons to Duck, and all the Blame was laid upon Monsr. *de la Sale*.

Hispaniola
Island.

On the 11th of *September*, we were in the Latitude of the Island of *Santo Domingo*, or *Hispaniola*, being 20 Degrees North, and the Longitude of 320 Degrees. We steer'd our Course West, but the Wind flatting, the ensuing Calm quite stopp'd our Way. That same Day Monsr. *Dainmarville*, the Priest,¹ went aboard the Bark *la Belle*, to administer the Sacraments to a Gunner, who died a few Days after. Monsr. *de la Sale* went to see him, and I bore him Company.

The 21st,² the Ketch, which we had before lost sight of, join'd us again; and some Complaints being made to Monsr. *de la Sale*, by several private Persons that were aboard the Flyboat, he order'd me to go thither to accomodate those Differences, which were occasion'd only by some Jealousies among them.

Sombbrero
Island.

The 16th, we sail'd by the Island *Sombbrero*, and the 18th had hard blowing Weather, which made us apprehensive of a Hurracon. The foul Weather lasted two Days, during which Time, we kept under a main Course and lost Sight of the other Vessels.

A Council was call'd aboard our Ship, the *Joly*, to consider whether we should lie by for the others, or hold on our Course, and it was resolv'd, that, considering our Water began to fall short, and there were above five Persons³ sick aboard, of which Number Monsr. *de la Sale* and the Sur-

¹ In the original *Fr.* "the missionary priest."

² In the original "Le 12"—the twelfth.

³ The French original says "plus de malades"—*i. e.* more than 50 sick people.

geon¹ were, we should make all the Sail we could, to reach Sept. 1684 the first Port² of the Island *Hispaniola*, being that call'd *Port de Paix*, or Port Peace, which Resolution was accordingly register'd.

The 20th, we discover'd the first Land of *Hispaniola*, being Cape *Samana*, lying in 19 Degrees of North Latitude, Cape Sa-
mana. and of Longitude 308. The 25th we should have put into *Port de Paix*, as had been concerted, and it was not only the most convenient Place for us to get Refreshments, but also the Residence of Monsr. *de Cussy*, Governor of the Island *Tortuga*, who knew that Monsr. *de la Sale* carried particular Orders for him to furnish such Necessaries as he stood in Need of.

Notwithstanding these cogent Reasons, Mr. *de Beaujeu* was positive to pass further on in the Night, weathering the Island *Tortuga*, which is some Leagues distant from Tortuga
Island. *Port de Paix* and the Coast of *Hispaniola*. He also pass'd Cape St. *Nicolas*, and the 26th³ of the said Month, we put into the Bay of *Jaguana*, coasting the Island *Guanabo*, which is in the Middle of that Great Bay or Gulph, and in Conclusion, on the 27th we arriv'd at *Petit Gouave*, having spent 58 Days in our Passage from the Port of *Chef de Bois*, near *Rochel*.

This Change of the Place for our little Squadron to put into, for which no Reason could be given, prov'd very disadvantageous; and it will hereafter appear, as I have before observ'd, that those misunderstanding among the Officers insensibly drew on the Causes from whence our Misfortune proceeded.

As soon as we had dropt Anchor, a *Piragua*, or great Sort of *Canoe*, came out from the Place, with Twenty Men, to know who we were, and hail'd us. Being inform'd that we were *French*, they acquainted us, that Monsieur *de Cussy*

¹ Fr. "les chirurgions"—the surgeons.

² Tr. "Francois"—the first French port.

³ Should be, as in the Fr. "16th."

Oct. 1684.

was at *Port de Paix* with the Marquis de *St. Laurent*, Lieutenant General of the *American* Islands, and Monsieur *Begon* the Intendant, which very much troubled Monsieur de *la Sale*, as having Affairs of the utmost Consequence to concert with them; but there was no remedy, and he was oblig'd to bear it with Patience.

The next Day, being the 28th. we sang *Te Deum*, in Thanksgiving for our prosperous Passage. Monsieur de *la Sale* being somewhat recover'd of his Indisposition, went Ashore with several of the Gentlemen of his Retinue, to buy some Refreshments for the Sick, and to find Means to send Notice of his Arrival, to Messieurs de *St. Laurent*, de *Cussy*, and *Begon*, and signify to them, how much he was concern'd that we had not put into *Port de Paix*. He writ particularly to Monsieur de *Cussy*, to desire he would come to him, if possible, that he might be assisting to him, and take the necessary Measures for rendering his Enterprize successful, that it might prove to the King's Honour and Service.

In the mean Time, the Sick suffering very much Aboard the Ships,¹ by Reason of the Heat, and their being too close together, the Soldiers were put Ashore, on a little Island, near *Petit Gouaves*, which is the usual Burial-Place of the People of the pretended Reformed Religion,² where they had fresh Provisions, and Bread baked on Purpose, distributed to them. As for the Sick, I was order'd by Monsieur de *la Sale*, to provide a House for them, whither they were carry'd, with the Surgeons, and supply'd with all that was requisite for them.

Some Days after, Monsieur de *la Sale* fell dangerously ill, most of his Family were also sick. A violent Fever, attended with Lightheadedness, brought him almost to Extremity. The Posture of his Affairs, Want of Money, and the Weight of a mighty Enterprize, without knowing whom to trust with the Execution of it, made him still more sick

¹ Should be "ship."

² In the *Fr.* "la Religion P. R."

in Mind, than he was in his Body, and yet his Patience and Resolution surmounted all those Difficulties. He pitch'd upon Monsieur *le Gros* and me to act for him, caus'd some Commodities he had Aboard the Ships to be sold, to raise Money; and through our Care, and the excellent Constitution of his Body, he recover'd Health. Nov. 1684

Whilst he was in that Condition, two of our Ships, which had been separated from us on the 18th of *September*, by the stormy Winds, arriv'd at *Petit Gouave* on the 2d of *October*. The Joy conceiv'd on Account of their Arrival, was much allay'd by the News they brought of the Loss of the Ketch, taken by two *Spanish Piraguas*; and that Loss was the more grievous, because that Vessel was laden with Provisions, Ammunition, Utensils and proper Tools for the settling of our new Colonies; a Misfortune which would not have happen'd, had Monsieur *de Beaujeu* put into *Port de Paix*, and Messieurs *de St. Laurent*, *de Cussy*, and *Begon* who arrived at the same Time, to see Monsieur *de la Sale* did not spare to signify as much to him, and to complain of that Miscarriage. Ketch taken
by the
Spaniards.

Monsieur *de la Sale* being recover'd had several Conferences with these Gentlemen, relating to his Voyage. A Consult of Pilots was called to resolve where he should touch before we came upon the Coast of *America*, and it was resolved to steer directly for the Western Point of the Island of *Cuba*, or for *Cape St. Antony*, distant about 300 Leagues from *Hispaniola*, there to expect the proper Season, and a fair Wind to enter the Gulph or Bay, which is but Two hundred Leagues over.

The next Care was to lay in Store of other Provisions, in the Room of those which were lost, and Monsieur *de la Sale* was the more pressing for us to embark, because most of his Men deserted, or were debauch'd by the Inhabitants of the Place; and the Vessel call'd *l' Aimable*, being the worst Sailer of our little Squadron, it was resolv'd that should carry the Light, and the others to follow it. Monsieur

Dec. 1684

de la Sale, Monsieur *Cavelier* his Brother, the Fathers *Zenobrius*¹ and *Anastasius*, both Recolets, Monsieur *Chedeville* and I embark'd on the said *Aimable* and all sail'd the 25th of *November*.

We met with some Calms, and some violent Winds, which nevertheless carry'd us in Sight of the Island of *Cuba*, on the 30th of the same Month, and it then bore from us *N. W.* There we alter'd our Course and steer'd *W.* and by *N.* The 31st, the Weather being somewhat close, we lost Sight of that Island, then stood *W. N. W.* and the Sky clearing up, made an Observation at Noon, and found we were in 19 Degrees, 45 Minutes of North Latitude: by which we judg'd that the Currents had carry'd us off to Sea from the Island of *Cuba*.

Cayman
Island.

On the first of *December* we discovered the Island *Cayman*. The 2d we steer'd *N. W.* and by *W.* in order to come up with the Island of *Cuba* in the Northern Latitude of 20 Degrees 32 Minutes. The 3d we discovered the little Island of *Pines*, lying close to *Cuba*. The 4th, we weather'd a Point of that Island, and the Wind growing scant, were forc'd to ply upon a Bowling, and make several Trips till the 5th at Night, when we anchor'd in a Creek, in 15 Fathom Water, and continued there till the 8th.

Island of
Pines.

During that short Stay, Monsieur *de la Sale* went Ashore with several Gentlemen of his Retinue on the Island of *Pines*, shot an Alligator dead, and returning Aboard, perceiv'd he had lost two of his Voluntiers, who had wander'd into the Woods, and perhaps lost their Way. We fired several Musquet Shots to call them, which they did not hear, and I was order'd to expect them ashore, with 30 Musquetiers to attend me. They return'd the next Morning with much Trouble.

Alligator
eaten.

In the mean Time, our Soldiers, who had good Stomachs, boil'd and eat the Alligator, Monsieur *de la Sale* had kill'd. The flesh of it was white and had a Taste of Musk, for

¹ *Fr.* "Zenobe,"—Zenobius.

which Reason I could not eat it. One of our Hunters Dec. 1684
 kill'd a wild Swine, which the Inhabitants of those Islands Wild
 call *Maron*. There are of them in the Island of *Santo* Swine.
Domingo, or *Hispaniola*, they are of the Breed of those the
Spaniards left in the Islands when they first discover'd
 them, and run wild in the Woods. I sent it to Monsieur
de la Sale, who presented the one Half to Monsieur *de*
Beaujeu.

That Island is all over very thick wooded, the Trees Island of
 being of several Sorts, and some of them bear a Fruit Pines.
 resembling the Acorn, but harder. There are Abundance
 of Parrots, larger than those at *Petit Gouave*, a great Num-
 ber of Turtle Doves and other Birds, and a Sort of Crea-
 tures resembling a Rat, but as big as a Cat, their Hair
 reddish. Our Men kill'd many of them and fed heartily
 on them, as they did on a good Quantity of Fish, where-
 with that Coast abounds.

We imbark'd again, as soon as the two Men who had
 stray'd were return'd, and on the 8th; being the Feast of
 the *Conception* of the Blessed Virgin, sail'd in the Morning,
 after having heard Mass, and the Wind shifting were
 forc'd to steer several Courses. The 9th we discover'd
 Cape *Corrientes*, of the Island of *Cuba*; where we were
 first becalm'd; and then follow'd a stormy Wind, which
 carried us away five Leagues to the Eastward. The 10th
 we spent the Night, making several Trips. The 11th, the
 Wind coming about, we weather'd Cape *Corrientes*, to make The Capes
 that of *St. Antony*; and at length, after plying a consider- Corrientes
 able Time, and sounding, we came to an Anchor the 12th, and St.
 upon good Ground, in fifteen Fathom Water, in the Creek Antony.
 form'd by that Cape, which is in 22 Degrees of North Lati-
 tude and 288 Degrees 35 Minutes of Longitude.

We stay'd there only till next Day, being the 13th,¹ when
 the Wind seem'd to be favourable to enter upon the Bay of
Mexico. We made ready and sail'd, steering *N. W.* and

¹ Corrects the *Fr.* original, which reads "12th."

Dec. 1684

by *N.* and *N. N. W.* to weather the said Cape and prosecute our Voyage: But by that Time we were five Leagues from the Place of our Departure, we perceiv'd the Wind shifted upon us, and not knowing which Way the Currents sate, we stood *E.* and by *N.* and held that Course till the 14th, when Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, who was aboard the *Joly*, join'd us again, and having confer'd with Monsieur *de la Sale* about the Wind's being contrary, proposed to him to return to Cape *St. Antony*, to which Monsieur *de la Sale* consented, to avoid giving him any Cause to complain, tho' there was no great Occasion for so doing, and accordingly we went and anchor'd in the Place from whence we came.

The next Day, being the 15th, Monsieur *de la Sale* sent some Men ashore, to try whether we could fill some Casks with Water. They brought Word, they had found some in the Wood, which was not much amiss, but that there was no Conveniency for rowling of the Casks; for which Reason Rundlets were sent, and as much Water brought in them, as fill'd six or seven of our Water Casks.

The same Men reported, that they had found a glass Bottle, and in it a little Wine, or some other Liquor, almost dead. This was all the Provision we found in that Place, by which it appears, how much Monsieur *Tonti* was misinform'd, since in his Book, *Pag.* 242, he says, we found in that Island several Tun of *Spanish Wine*, good *Brandy* and *Indian Wheat*, which the *Spaniards* had left or abandon'd; and it is a meer Invention without any Thing of Truth.

The 16th, the Weather being still Calm, the Men went ashore again for five or six more Casks of Water. I was to have gone with them, had not an Indisposition, which I first felt in the Island of *Pines*, and afterwards turn'd to a tertian Ague, prevented me. Therefore I can give no Account of that Island, any further than what I could see from the Ships, which was Abundance of that Sort of Palm-Trees, in French call'd *Lataniens*, fit for nothing but

Mistake in
Monsieur
Tonti's
Account of
the Voyage.

making of Brooms, or scarce any other Use. That day Dec. 1684 we saw some Smoaks, far within the Island, and guess'd they might be a Signal of the Number of our Ships, or else made by some of the Country Hunters, who had lost their Way.

The next Night preceding the 17th, the Wind freshning from the *N. W.* and starting up all on a sudden, drove the Vessel call'd *la Belle* upon her Anchor, so that she came foul of the Boltsprit of the *Aimable*, carrying away the Sprintsail-Yard and the Sprintsail-Top-Sail-Yard, and had not they immediately veer'd out the Cable of the *Aimable*, the Vessel *la Belle* would have been in danger of perishing, but escap'd with the Loss of her Mizzen, which came by the Board, and of about a hundred Fathoms of Cable and an Anchor.

The 18th, the Wind being fresh, we made ready, and sail'd about Ten in the Morning, standing *North* and *N.* and by *W.* and held our Course till Noon; the Point of Cape St. *Anthony* bearing *East* and *West* with us, and so continu'd steering *North-West*, till the 19th at Noon, when we found our selves in the Latitude of 22 Degrees 58 minutes *North*, and in 287 Degrees 54 Minutes Longitude.

Finding the Wind shifting from one Side to another, we directed our Course several Ways, but that which prov'd advantageous to us, was the fair Weather, and that was a great Help, so that scarce a Day pass'd without taking an Observation.

The 20th, we found the Variation of the Needle was 5 Degrees *West*, and we were in 26 Degrees 40 Minutes of North Latitude and 285 Degrees 16 Minutes Longitude. The 23th it grew very cloudy,¹ which threaten'd stormy Weather, and we prepar'd to receive it, but came off only with the Apprehension, the Clouds dispersing several Ways, and we continu'd till the 27th in and about 28 De-

¹The *Fr.* reads, "il s'éleva un gros meage au nord"—*i. e.* there arose a great cloud to the northward.

Dec. 1684

grees 14 Minutes, and both by the Latitude and Estimation it was judg'd, that we were not far from Land.

The Bark call'd *la Belle* was sent out to discover and keep before, sounding all the Way; and half an Hour before Sun-set, we saw the Vessel *la Belle* put out her Colours and lie by for us. Being come up with her, the Master told us, he had found an Owzy Bottom at thirty two Fathom Water. At eight of the Clock we sounded also, and found forty Fathom, and at ten, but twenty five. About Midnight, *le Belle* sounding again, found only seventeen, which being a Demonstration of the Nearness of the Land, we lay by for the *Joly*, to know what Monsieur *de Beaujeu* design'd, who being come up, lay by with us.

The 27th, Monsieur *de Beaujeu* sent the *Chevalier d'Aire*, his Lieutenant, and two Pilots to Monsieur *de la Sale*, to conclude upon the Course we were to steer, and it was agreed we should stand West North West till we came into six Fathom Water; that then we should run West, and when we had discover'd the Land, Boats should be sent to view the Country. Matters being thus agreed on, we sail'd again, sounding all the Way for the more Security, and about ten, were in ten or eleven Fathom Water, the Bottom fine greyish Sand and owzy. At Noon, were in 26 Degrees¹ 37 Minutes of North Latitude.

The 28th, being in eight or nine Fathom Water, we perceiv'd the Bark *la Belle*, which kept a Head of us, put out her Colours, which was the Signal of her having discover'd Something. A Sailor was sent up to the Main-Top, who descry'd the Land, to the N. E. not above six Leagues Distance from us, which being told to Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, he thought fit to come to an Anchor.

There being no Man among us who had any Knowledge of that Bay, where we had been told the Currents were strong, and sate swiftly to the *Eastward*, it made us sus-

¹ In the original *Fr.* 28th degree.

pect that we were fallen off, and that the Land we saw *Jan. 1685* must be the Bay of *Apalache*, which oblig'd us on the 29th to steer *W. N. W.* still keeping along the Land, and it was agreed that the *Joly* should follow us in six Fathom Water.

The 30th, the *Chevalier d' Aire* and the second Pilot of the *Joly* came aboard us to confer and adjust by our Recknings what Place we might be in, and they all agreed, according to Monsieur *de la Sale's* Opinion, that the Currents had set us to the *Eastward*, for which Reason we held on our Course, as we had done the Day before to the *N. W.* keeping along the Shore till the first of *January 1685.* when we perceiv'd that the Currents forc'd us towards the Land, which oblig'd us to come to an Anchor in six Fathom Water. *Currents.*

We had not been there long, before the Bark *la Belle* made a Signal that she had discover'd Land, which we describ'd at about 4 Leagues Distance from us. Notice was given to Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, who drew near to us, and it was resolv'd to send some Person to discover and take an Account of the Land that appear'd to us.

Accordingly a Boat was man'd, and into it went Monsieur *de la Sale*, the *Chevalier de Aire* and several others; another Boat was also put out, aboard which I went with Ten or Twelve of our Gentlemen, to join Monsieur *de la Sale* and the Bark *le Belle* was order'd to follow always keeping along the Shore; to the End that if the Wind shou'd rise, we might get aboard her, to lose no Time.

Some of those who were in Monsieur *de la Sale's* Boat, and the foremost,¹ went ashore and saw a spacious plain Country of much Pasture Ground; but had not the Leisure to make any particular Discovery, because the Wind freshning, they were oblig'd to return to their Boat, to come aboard again; which was the Reason why we did not go quite up to the Shore, but return'd with them to our Ship. *First Landing.*

¹In the *Fr.* "qui estoient devant nous"—and who were ahead of us.

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All that could be taken Notice of was a great Quantity of Wood along the Coast. We took an Observation and found 29 Degrees 10 Minutes of North Latitude.

The Second, there arose a Fog, which made us lose Sight of the *Joly*. The next Day, the Weather clearing up, we fir'd some Cannon-shot and the *Joly* answer'd, and towards the Evening we perceiv'd her to the Windward of us. We held on our Course, making several Trips till the Fourth in the Evening, when being in Sight and within two Leagues of the Land, we came to an Anchor to expect the *Joly*, for which we were in Pain.

Monsieur Joutel believes here was one of the Mouths of the Missisipi. See the Pref. and what follows.

The Fifth, we set Sail and held on our Course *W. S. W.* keeping along the Shore till about Six in the Evening, when we stood away to the *Southward* and anchor'd at Night in six Fathom Water. The Sixth, we would have made ready to sail, but the Pilot perceiving, that the Sea broke astern of us, and that there were some Shoals, it was thought proper to continue at Anchor, till the Wind chang'd, and we accordingly staid there the Sixth and all the Seventh. The Eighth the Wind veering about, we stood out a little to Sea, to avoid those Shoals, which are very dangerous, and anchor'd again a League from thence. Upon Advice, that the Bark *la Belle* had discover'd a small Island, which appear'd between the two Points of a Bay, Monsieur *de la Sale* sent a Man up to the round Top, from whence both the one and the other were plainly to be seen, and according to the Sea Charts we had with us, that was suppos'd to be the Bay of the *Holy Ghost*.

The Ninth, Monsieur *de la Sale*, sent to view those Shoals. Those who went reported there was a sort of Bank, which runs along the Coast; that they had been in one Fathom Water and discover'd the little Island before-mention'd, and as for the Sand Bank there is no such thing mark'd down in the Charts. Monsieur *de la Sale* having examin'd the Recknings, was confirm'd in his Opinion, that we were in the Bay of *Apalache*, and caus'd us to continue the same Course.

The Tenth, he took an Observation and found 29 De- Jan. 1685
grees 23 Minutes North Latitude. The eleventh, we were
becalm'd, and Monsieur *de la Sale* resolv'd to go ashore, to
endeavour to discover what he was looking for; but as we
were making ready, the Pilot began to mutter because five
or six of us were going with Monsieur *de la Sale*, who too
lightly alter'd his Design, to avoid giving Offence to brutish
People. In that Particular he committed an irretrievable
Error; for it is the Opinion of Judicious Men, who, as well
as I, saw the rest of that Voyage, that the Mouth of one
of the Branches of the *Missisipi* River, and the same whose
Latitude Monsieur *de la Sale* had taken, when he travell'd
to it from *Canada*, was not far from that Place, and that
we must of Necessity be near the Bay of the *Holy Ghost*.¹

It was Monsieur *de la Sale's* Design to find that Bay, Monsieur
de la Sale's
Mistake.
and having found it, he had resolv'd to have set ashore
about thirty Men, who were to have follow'd the Coast on
the Right and Left, which would infallibly have discover'd
to him that fatal River, and have prevented many Mis-
fortunes; but Heaven refus'd him that Success, and even
made him regardless of an Affair of such Consequence,
since he was satisfy'd with sending thither the Pilot, with
one of the Masters of the Bark *la Belle*, who return'd with-
out having seen any Thing, because a fog happen'd to rise;
only the Master of the Bark said he believ'd there was a
River opposite to those Shoals, which was very likely, and
yet Monsieur *de la Sale* took no Notice of it, nor made any
Account of that Report.

The Twelfth, the Wind being come about we weigh'd
and directed our Course *S. W.* to get further from the
Land. By an Observation found 25² Degrees 50 Minutes

¹They must have already passed the mouth of the Mississippi (owing to La Salle's having failed to determine its longitude, in 1682, when he had taken its latitude), and were then sailing along the Texas coast, probably near Galveston Bay, more than 400 miles westward of their desired objective. See note to p. 120, vol. ii, *Parkman's La Salle* (Champlain edition).

²In the *Fr.* 28th.

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North Latitude, and the Wind shifting, and the Currents, which set from the Seaward driving us ashore, it was found convenient to anchor in four or five Fathom Water, where we spent all the Night.

The Thirteenth, we perceiv'd our Water began to fall short, and therefore it was requisite to go ashore to fill some Casks. Monsieur *de la Sale* propos'd it to me to go and see it perform'd, which I accepted of, with six of our Gentlemen who offer'd their Service. We went into the Boat, with our Arms, the Boat belonging to the Bark *la Belle* follow'd ours, with five or six Men, and we all made directly for the Land.

We were very near the Shoar, when we discover'd a number of naked Men marching along the Banks, whom we suppos'd to be native Savages. We drew within two Musket Shots of the Land, and the Shore being flat, the Wind setting from the Offing, and the Sea running high, dropt our Anchors, for Fear of staving our Boats.¹

Savages
came to the
Boat.

When the Savages perceiv'd we had stopp'd, they made Signs to us with Skins, to go to them, shew'd us their Bows, which they laid down upon the Ground, and drew near to the Edge of the Shore; but because we could not get Ashore, and still they continued their Signals, I put my Handkerchief on the End of my Firelock, after the Manner of a Flag, and made Signs to them to come to us. They were some Time considering of it, and at last some of them ran into the Water up to their Shoulders, till perceiving that the Waves overwhelm'd them, they went out again, fetch'd a large Piece of Timber, which they threw into the Sea, plac'd themselves along both Sides of it, holding fast to it with one Arm, and swimming with the other; and in that Manner they drew near to our Boat.

Being in Hopes that Monsr. *de la Sale*, might get some Information from those Savages, we made no Difficulty of taking them into our Boat, one after another, on each Side,

¹ In the *Fr.* "notre chaloupe"—our boat.

to the Number of five, and then made Signs to the rest to go to the other Boat, which they did, and we carry'd them on Board.

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*Carryed
Aboard.*

Monsieur *de la Sale* was very well pleas'd to see them, imagining they might give him some Account of the River he sought after; but to no Purpose, for he spoke to them in several of the Languages of the Savages, which he knew, and made many Signs to them, but still they understood not what he meant, or if they did comprehend any thing, they made Signs, that they knew nothing of what he ask'd; so that having made them smook and eat, we shewed them our Arms and the Ship, and when they saw at one End of it some Sheep, Swine, Hens and Turkeys, and the Hide of a Cow we had kill'd, they made Signs that they had of all those Sorts of Creatures among them.

We gave them some Knives and Strings of Beads, after which, they were dismiss'd, and the Waves hindring us from coming too near the Shore, they were oblig'd to leap into the Water, after we had made fast about their Necks, or to the Tuft of Hair they have on the Top of the Head, the Knives and other small Presents Monsieur *de la Sale* had given them.

*Return
Ashore with
Gifts.*

They went and join'd the others who expected them, and were making Signs to us to go to them; but not being able to make the Shore, we stood off again and return'd to our Ship. It is to be observed, that when we were carrying them back, they made some Signs to us, by which we conceiv'd they would signify to us that there was a great River that Way we were pass'd, and that it occasion'd the Shoals we had seen.

The Wind changing, the same Day, we weigh'd Anchor and stood to the Southward, to get into the Offing, till the 14th in the Morning, when we were becalm'd. At Noon, we were in 28 Degrees 51 Minutes of North Latitude. The Wind freshned, and in the Evening we held on our Course, but only for a short Time, because the Wind setting us towards the Shore, we were obliged to anchor

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again, whereupon Monsieur *de la Sale* again resolved to send Ashore, and the same Persons imbark'd in the same Boats to that effect.

*Goats and
Bullocks.*

We met with the same Obstacles, that had hinder'd us the Day before, that is, the High-Sea, which would not permit us to come near the Shore, and were obliged to drop Anchor in fourteen Foot Water.¹ The Sight of Abundance of Goats and Bullocks, differing in Shape, from ours, and running along the Coast, heighten'd our Earnestness to be Ashore. We therefore sounded to see whether we might get to Land by Stripping, and found we were on a Flat, which had four Foot Water, but that beyond it there was a deep Channel. Whilst we were consulting what to do, a Storm arose, which oblig'd Monsieur *de la Sale* to fire a Gun for us to return Aboard, which we did against our Inclination.

Monsieur *de la Sale* was pleas'd with the Report we made him, and by it, several were encouraged to go Ashore to hunt, that we might have some fresh Meat. We spent all that Night, till the next Morning, in Hopes of returning soon to that Place; but the Wind changing, forc'd us to weigh and sail till the Evening, when we drop'd Anchor in six Fathom Water. The Land which we never departed from very far, appear'd to us very pleasant, and having lain there till the 16th, that Morning we sail'd *W. S. W.* We weather'd a Point, keeping a large Offing, because of the Sea's beating upon it, and stood to the Southward. At Noon, we were in 28 Degrees 20 Minutes of North Latitude, and consequently found the Latitude declin'd, by which we were sensible, that the Coast tendred to the Southward. At Night we anchor'd in six Fathom Water.

The 17th, the Wind continuing the same, we held on our Course *S. W.* and having about Ten discover'd a Sort of River, Monsieur *de la Sale* caus'd Ten of us to go into a

¹ *Fr.* "a quatre piez d'eau"—*i. e.* in four feet of water.

Boat, to take a View of that Coast, and see whether there was not some Place to land. He order'd me, in Case we found any convenient Place, to give him Notice either by Fire or Smoke. Jan. 1685

We set out, and found the Shoals obstructed our Descent. One of our Men went naked into the Water to sound that Sand Bank, which lay between us and the Land; and having shewn us a Place where we might Pass, we, with much Difficulty, forc'd our Boat into the Channel, and six or seven of us landed, after ordering the Boat to go up into that which had appeared to us to be a River, to see whether any fresh Water could be found. Second landing.

As soon as we were landed, I made a Smoke to give Notice to Monsieur *de la Sale*, and then we advanc'd both Ways, without stragling too far, that we might be ready to receive Monsr. *de la Sale*, who was to come, as he did, soon after, but finding the Surges run high, he return'd, and our Boat finding no fresh Water, came back and anchor'd to wait for us.

We walked about every Way, and found a dry Soil, tho' it seem'd to be overflow'd at some Times; great Lakes of salt Water, little Grass, the Track of Goats, on the Sand, and saw Herds of them, but could not come near them, however we kill'd some Ducks and Bustards. In the Evening, as we were returning, we miss'd an English Seaman, fir'd several Shots to give him Notice, searched all about, waited till after Sunset, and at last hearing no Tidings of him, we went into the Boat to return Aboard.

I gave Monsieur *de la Sale* an Account of what we had seen, which would have pleas'd him, had the River we discover'd, afforded fresh Water: He was also uneasy for the lost Man; but about Midnight we saw a Fire Ashore, in the Place we came from, which we supos'd to be made by our Man, and the Boat went for him as soon as it was day on the 18th.

After that, we made several Trips, still steering towards the *S. W.* and then ensued a Calm, which oblig'd us to

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come to an Anchor. Want of Water made us think of returning towards the River, where we had been the Day before. Monsr. *de la Sale* resolved to set a considerable Number of Men Ashore, with sufficient Ammunition, and to go with them himself, to discover and take Cognizance of that Country, and order'd me to follow him. Accordingly we sail'd back, and came to an Anchor in the same Place.

All things necessary for that end being order'd on the 19th, Part of the Men were put into a Boat;¹ but a very thick Fog rising, and taking away the Sight of Land, the Compass was made use of, and the fog dispersing as we drew near the Land, we perceiv'd a Ship making directly towards us, and that it was the *Joly*, where Monsr. *de Beaujeu* commanded, which rejoic'd us, but our Satisfaction was not lasting, and it will appear by the Sequel, that it were to have been wished, that Monsieur *de Beaujeu* had not joyn'd us again, but that he had rather gone away for *France*, without ever seeing of us.

His Arrival disconcerted the Execution of our Enterprize. Monsr. *de la Sale*, who was already on his Way, and those who were gone before him, return'd Aboard, and some Hours after, Monsr. *de Beaujeu* sent his Lieutenant, Monsr. *de Aire*, attended by several Persons, as well Clergymen as others, among whom was the *Sieur Gabaret*, second Pilot of the *Joly*.

Command-
ers at
Variance.

Monsieur *d' Aire* complain'd grievously to Monsieur *de la Sale*, in the Name of Monsr. *de Beaujeu*, for that said he, we had left him designedly; which was not true, for as I have said, the *Joly* lay at Anchor A-head of us, when we were separated from her; we fired a Gun to give her Notice of our Departure, as had been concerted, and Monsr. *de Beaujeu* answer'd it; besides that, if we had intended to separate from him, we should not have always held our Course in Sight of Land, as we had done, and that had

¹ Fr. "une partie s'embargua"—a party embarked.

Monsieur *de Beaujeu* held the same Course, as had been Jan. 1685 agreed, he had not been separated from us.

There were afterwards several Disputes between the Captains and the Pilots, as well Aboard Monsieur *de la Sale*, as Aboard Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, when those Gentlemen return'd, about settling exactly the Place we were in, and the Course we were to steer; some positively affirming we were farther than we imagin'd, and that the Currents had carry'd us away; and others, that we were near the *Magdalen River*.

The former of those Notions prevail'd, whence, upon Reflection, Monsieur *de la Sale* concluded, that he must be past his River, which was but too true; for that River emptying it self in the Sea by two Channels, it follow'd that one of the Mouths fell about the Shoals we had observ'd the sixth of the Month; and the rather because those Shoals were very near the Latitude that Monsieur *de la Sale* had observ'd, when he came by the way of *Canada* to discover the Mouth of that River, as he told me several Times.

*They pass
the Mouth
of the Mis-
sissipi.*

This Consideration prevail'd with Monsieur *de la Sale* to propose his Design of returning towards those Shoals. He gave his Reasons for so doing and exposed his Doubts; but his ill Fortune made him not be regarded. Our Passage had taken up more Time than had been expected, by Reason of the Calms; there was a considerable Number of Men aboard the *Joly*, and Provisions grew short, insomuch that they said it would not hold out to return, if our Departure were delay'd. For this Reason Monsieur *de Beaujeu* demanded Provisions of Monsieur *de la Sale*; but he asking enough for a long Time, Monsieur *de la Sale* answer'd, he could only give him enough for a Fortnight, which was more Time than was requisite to reach the Place he intended to return to; and that besides he could not give him more Provisions, without rummaging all the Stores to the Bottom of the Hold, which would endanger his being cast away. Thus nothing was concluded, and Monsieur *de Beaujeu* return'd to his own Ship.

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Third
Landing.

In the mean Time, Want of Water began to pinch us, and Monsieur *de la Sale* resolv'd to send to look for some about the next River. Accordingly he order'd the two Boats that had been made ready the Day before, to go off. He was aboard one of them himself, and directed me to follow him. Monsieur *de Beaujeu* also commanded his Boat to go for Wood. By the Way we met the said *Sieur de Beaujeu* in his Yaul, returning from Land, with the *Sieur Minet*, an Ingenier, who told us, they had been in a Sort of salt Pool, two or three Leagues from the Place where the Ships were at Anchor, we held on our Way and landed.

One of our Boats, which was gone ahead of us, had been a League and a half up the River, without finding any fresh Water in its Channel; but some Men wandering about to the right and left, had met with divers Rivulets¹ of very good Water, wherewith many Casks were fill'd.

We lay ashore, and our Hunters having that Day kill'd good Store of Ducks, Bustards and Teal, and the next Day two Goats, Monsieur *de la Sale* sent Monsieur *de Beaujeu* Part. We feasted upon the rest, and that good Sport put several Gentlemen that were then aboard Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, among whom were Monsieur *du Hamel*, the Ensign and the King's Clerk, upon coming ashore to partake of the Diversion; but they took much Pains and were not successfull in their Sport.

In the mean Time many Casks were fill'd with Water, as well for our Ship as for Monsieur *de Beaujeu's*. Some Days after Monsieur *d' Aire* the Lieutenant, came ashore to confer with Monsieur *de la Sale*, and to know how he would manage about the Provisions; but both of them persisting in their first Proposals and Monsieur *de la Sale* perceiving that Monsieur *de Beaujeu* would not be satisfied with Provisions for 15 Days, which he thought sufficient to go to the Place where he expected to find one of the

¹ Fr. "marres."

Branches of the *Missisipi*, which he with good Reason believ'd to be about the Shoals, I have before spoken of, nothing was concluded as to that Affair. Monsieur d'*Aire* return'd to his Captain, and Monsieur *de la Sale* resolv'd to land his Men; which could not be done for some Days, because of the foul Weather; but in the mean Time we kill'd much Game.

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During this little Interval, Monsieur *de la Sale* being impatient to get some Intelligence of what he sought after, resolv'd to go himself upon Discovery, and to seek out some more useful and commodious River than that where they were. To this Purpose he took five or six of us along with him. We set out one Morning in so thick a Fog, that the hindmost could not perceive the Track of the foremost, so that we lost Monsieur *de la Sale* for some Time.

We travel'd till about three in the Afternoon, finding the Country for the most Part Sandy, little Grass, no fresh Water, unless in some Sloughs,¹ the Track of abundance of wild Goats, Lakes full of Ducks, Teals, Water-Hens, and having taken much Pains return'd without Success.

Account of
the Country.

The next Morning, Monsieur *de la Sale's* Indian, going about to find wild Goats, came to a Lake, which had a little Ice upon it, the Weather being cold, and Abundance of Fish dying about the Edges of it. He came to inform us, we went to make our Provision of them, there were some of a prodigious Magnitude, and among the rest extraordinary large Trouts, or else they were some Sort of Fish very like them. We caused some of each of a Sort to be boil'd in salt Water, and found them very good. Thus having Plenty of Fish and Flesh, we began to use ourselves to eat them both, without Bread.

Whilst we liv'd thus easy enough, Monsieur *de la Sale* expected with Impatience to know what Resolution Monsieur *de Beaujeu* would take; that he might either go to the Place, where he expected to find the *Missisipi*, or fol-

¹ Fr. "marres."

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low some other Course; but at last, perceiving that his Affairs did not advance, he resolv'd to put his own Design in Execution, the Purport whereof was to land one hundred and twenty, or one hundred and thirty Men to go along the Coast and continue it, till they had found some other River, and that at the same Time the Bark *la Belle* should hold the same Course at Sea, still keeping along the Coast, to relieve those Ashore in Time of Need.

He gave me and Monsieur *Moranget*, his Nephew, the Command of that small Company, he furnish'd us with all Sorts of Provisions for eight, or ten Days, as also Arms, Tools and Utensils we might have Occasion for, of which every Man made his Bundle. He also gave us written Instructions of what we were to do, the Signals we were to make; and thus we set out on the Fourth of *February*.

Men sent
by Land to
discover.

We took our Way along the Shore. Our first Day's Journey was not long, we encamp'd on a little rising Ground, heard a Cannon shot, which made us uneasy, made the Signals that had been appointed, and the next Day, being the 5th, we held on our March, Monsieur *Moranget* bringing up the Rear, and I leading the Van.

I will not spend Time in relating several personal Accidents, inconsiderable in themselves, or of no Consequence, the most considerable of them being the Want of fresh Water; but will proceed to say, that after three Days March we found a great River, where we halted and made the Signals agreed on, encamping on a commodious Spot of Ground till we could hear of the Boat, which was to follow us, or of our Ships.

But our Provisions beginning to fall short, and none of our Ships appearing, being besides apprehensive of some unlucky Accident occasion'd by the Disagreement between Monsieur *de la Sale* and Monsr. *de Beaujeu*, the Chief of our Company came together to know what Resolution we should take. It was agreed, that we should spare our Provisions to endeavour to go on to some Place where we might find Bullocks; but it was requisite to cross the River,

and we knew not how, because we were too many of us, *Feb. 1685*
 and therefore it was decreed to set some Carpenters there
 were among us at Work to build a little Boat,¹ which took
 them up the eleventh and twelfth of *February*.

The 13th, we were put out of our Pain by two Vessels
 we discover'd at Sea, which we knew to be the *Joly* and
la Belle, to whom we made our Signals with Smoke. They
 came not in then, because it was late, but the next Day
 being the 14th in the Morning, the Boat, with the *Sieur*
Barbier and the Pilot of the Bark *la Belle* come up, and
 both sounded the Mouth of the River.

They found on the Bar, from ten to twelve Foot Water, *A fine*
 and within it from five to six Fathom; the Breadth of the *River.*
 River being about half a Quarter of a League. They
 sounded near the Island, which lies between the two Points
 of the Bay, and found the same Depth. The Boat of the
Joly came and sounded on the other Side of the Channel,
 and particularly along the Shoals, I know not to what Pur-
 pose. The same Day, *Monsieur de la Sale*, for whom we
 were much in Pain, came also, and as soon as he arrived,
 he caus'd the Boat to be laden with such Provisions as we
 stood in Need of, but the Wind being contrary, it could
 not come to us till the next Day, being the 15th.

That same Day, *Monsr. de la Sale* came Ashoar to view
 the Place and examine the Entrance into the River, which
 he found to be very good. Having consider'd all Particu-
 lars, he resolv'd to send in the Bark *la Belle* and *l' Aim-*
able, that they might be under Shelter, to which Purpose,
 he order'd to sound, and to know whether those two Ves-
 sels could both come in that same Day. *Monsieur de*
Beaujeu caus'd also the Place to be sounded, and lay
 Ashoar on the other Side of the River, where he took
 Notice there were Vines which run up the Trees, like our

¹ *Fr.* "canot" [thus explained in a marginal note: "Canot; est un
 petit bateau fait de bois, ou d'écorces, ou de peau"—i. e. Canoe, is a
 little boat made of wood, or bark, or hide]. *C. C. edit.*

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Wall Vines, some Woods and the Carcasses of Bullocks, which he supposed to have died with Thirst.

The 16th, the Pilots of the *Joly, l' Aimable* and *la Belle*, went again to sound, they found the Entrance easy, and gave it under their Hands. The 17th, they fix'd Stakes to mark out the Way, that the Vessels might come safe in. All Things seem'd to promise a happy Event.

The 18th, the Chevalier *d' Aire* came ashore, to confer with Monsieur *de la Sale*, who being desirous to have the Fly-boat *l' Aimable* come in that Day, order'd the most weighty Things in her to be unloaded, as the Cannon, the Iron and some other Things. It was my good Fortune that my Chest stood in the Way, and was also unloaded, but that Unlading could not be done till the next Day, being the 19th. That being perform'd, the Captain affirm'd it would go in at 8 Foot Water.

The 20th, Monsieur *de la Sale* sent Orders to that Captain to draw near the Bar, and to come in at high Water, of which a Signal should be given him; he also order'd the Pilot of the Bark *la Belle* to go aboard the Flyboat, to be assisting when it came in. The Captain would not receive him aboard, saying, he could carry in his Ship without his Help. All these Precautions prov'd of no Use; Monsieur *de la Sale* could not avert his ill Fate. He having taken Notice of a large Tree on the Bank of the River, which he judg'd fit to make a Canoe, sent 7 or 8 Workmen to hew it down, two of whom return'd some Time after, in a great Fright, and told him, they had narrowly escap'd being taken by a Company of Savages, and that they believ'd the others had fallen into their Hands. Monsieur *de la Sale* order'd us immediately to handle our Arms, and to march with Drums beating towards the Savages, who seeing us in that Posture, fac'd about and went off.

*A Company
of Savages.*

Monsieur *de la Sale* being desirous to join those Savages, to endeavour to get some Information from them, order'd Ten of us to lay down our Arms and draw near them, making Signs to them, at the same Time, to come to us.

When they saw us in that Posture and unarm'd, most of them also laid down their Bows and Arrows and came to meet us, carressing us after their Manner, and stroking first their own Breasts and then ours, then their own Arms and afterwards ours. By these Signs they gave us to understand that they had a Friendship for us, which they express'd by laying their Hands on their Hearts, and we did the same on our Part.

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Their
Friendly
Behaviour.

Six or seven of those Savages went along with us, and the rest kept three of our Men, in the Nature of Hostages. Those who went with us were made much of, but Monsieur *de la Sale* could learn nothing of them, either by Signs or otherwise; all they could make us understand was, that there was good hunting of Bullocks in the Country. We observ'd, that their *Yea* consisted in a Cry, fetch'd from the Bottom of the Throat, not unlike the Call of a Hen to gather her Chickens. Monsieur *de la Sale* gave them some Knives, Hatchets and other Trifles, with which they seem'd well pleased, and went away.

Monsieur *de la Sale* was glad to be rid of those People, because he was willing to be present when the Flyboat came in; but his ill Fate would not permit it. He thought fit to go himself along with those Savages, and we follow'd him, thinking to have found our Men in the same Place where we left them; but perceiv'd on the Contrary, that the Savages had carried them away to their Camp, which was a League and half from us, and Monsieur *de la Sablonniere*, Lieutenant of Foot, being one of those the Savages had taken with them, Monsieur *de la Sale* resolv'd to go himself to fetch him away, an unhappy Thought which cost him dear.

As we were on our Way towards the Camp of the Savages, happening to look towards the Sea, we saw the Flyboat *l'Aimable* under Sail, which the Savages who were with us admir'd, and Monsieur *de la Sale* observing it narrowly, told us, those People steer'd wrong, and were standing towards the Shoals, which made him very uneasy, but

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Their
Camp.

still we advanc'd. We arriv'd at the Camp of the Savages, which stood upon an Eminence, and consisted of about Fifty Cottages made of rush Mats, and others of dry'd Skins, and built with long Poles, bow'd round at the Top, like great Ovens, and most of the Savages sitting about, as if they were upon the Watch.

We were still advancing into the Village, when he heard a Cannon Shot, the Noise whereof struck such a Dread among the Savages, that they all fell flat upon the Ground; but Monsieur de la Sale and we were too sensible it was a Signal that our Ship was aground, which was confirm'd by seeing them furl their Sails; However we were gone too far to return; our Men must be had, and to that Purpose, we must proceed to the Hut of the Commander in Chief.¹

As soon as we arrived there, Monsr. de la Sale was introduc'd; many of the *Indian* Women came in, they were very deform'd² and all naked, excepting a Skin girt about them, which hung down to their Knees. They would have led us to their Cottages, but Monsr. de la Sale had order'd us not to part, and to observe whether the *Indians* did not draw together, so that we kept together, standing upon our Guard, and I was always with him.

Their En-
ertainment.

They brought us some Pieces of Beef, both fresh and dry'd in the Air and Smoke, and Pieces of Porpois, which they cut with a Sort of Knife, made of Stone, setting one Foot upon it, and holding with one Hand, whilst they cut with the other. We saw nothing of Iron among them. They had given our Men, that came with them, to eat, and Monsr. de la Sale being extraordinary uneasy, we soon took Leave of them to return. At our going out, we observ'd about forty Canoes, some of them like those Monsr. de la Sale had seen on the *Missisipi*, which made him conclude he was not far from it.

We soon arrived at our Camp, and found the Misfortune, Monsr. de la Sale had apprehended, was but too

¹ "Chef"—in the French.

² Fr. "laides"—i. e. ugly.

certain. The Ship was stranded on the Shoals. The ill ^{Feb. 1685} Management of the Captain, or of the Pilot, who had not ^{L' Aimable} steer'd by the Stakes placed for that Purpose; the Cries of ^{cast away.} a Sailor posted on the Main-top, who cry'd amain, *Loof*, which was to steer towards the Passage marked out, whilst the wicked Captain cry'd, *Come no nearer*, which was to steer the contrary Course; the same Captain's Carelessness in not dropping his Anchor, as soon as the Ship touch'd, which would have prevented her sticking aground; the Folly of lowering his Main-Sheet and hoisting out his Sprit-Sail, the better to fall into the Wind, and secure the Shipwreck; the Captain's refusing to admit the Pilot of the Bark *la Belle*, whom Monsieur *de la Sale* had sent to assist him; the sounding upon the Shoals to no Purpose, and several other Circumstances reported by the Ship's Crew and those who saw the Management, were infallible Tokens and Proofs, that the Mischief had been done designedly and adviseably, which was one of the blackest and most detestable Actions that Man could be guilty of.

This Misfortune was so much the greater, because that Vessel contain'd almost all the Ammunition, Utensils, Tools and other Necessaries for Monsr. *de la Sale's* Enterprize and Settlement. He had need of all his Resolution to bear up against it; but his Intrepidity did not forsake him, and he apply'd himself, without grieving, to Remedy what might be. All the Men were taken out of the Ship; he desir'd Monsieur *de Beaujeu* to lend him his long Boat, to help save as much as might be. We began with Powder and Meal. About thirty Hogsheads of Wine and Brandy were saved, and Fortune being incens'd against us, two Things contributed to the total Loss of all the rest:

The first was, that our Boat, which hung at the Stern of the Ship run A-ground, was maliciously stav'd in the Night, so that we had none left but Monsieur *de Beaujeu's*. The second, that the Wind blowing in from the Offing, made the Waves run high, which beating violently against the Ship, split her, and all the light Goods were carry'd out

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at the opening, by the Water. This last Misfortune happen'd also in the Night. Thus every Thing fell out most unhappily, for had that befallen in the Day, Abundance of Things might have been saved.

Whilst we were upon this melancholy Employment, about an hundred, or an hundred and twenty of the Natives came to our Camp, with their Bows and Arrows. Monsieur *de la Sale* order'd us to handle our Arms, and stand upon our Guard. About twenty of those *Indians* mix'd themselves among us, to observe what we had saved of the Shipwreck, upon which, there were several Sentinels,¹ to let none come near the Powder.

The rest of the *Indians* stood in Parcels, or Pelotons. Monsr. *de la Sale*, who was acquainted with their Ways, order'd us to observe their Behaviour, and to take Nothing from them, which nevertheless did not hinder some of our Men from receiving some Pieces of Meat. Some Time after, when the *Indians* were about departing, they made Signs to us to go a Hunting with them; but besides that, there was sufficient Cause to suspect them, we had enough other Business to do. However we ask'd, whether they would barter for any of their Canoes, which they agreed to. The *Sieur Barbier* went along with them, purchas'd two for Hatchets and brought them.

Some Days after, we perceiv'd a Fire in the Country, which spread it self and burnt the dry Weeds, still drawing towards us; whereupon, Monsr. *de la Sale* made all the Weeds and Herbs that were about us, be pull'd up, and particularly all about the Place where the Powder was. Being desirous to know the Occasion of that Fire, he took about twenty of us along with him, and we march'd that Way, and even beyond the Fire, without seeing any Body. We perceiv'd that it run towards the *W. S. W.* and judg'd it had begun about our first Camp, and at the Village next the Fire.²

¹ *Fr.* " quatre sentinelles "— four sentinels.

² *Fr.* " village porchain du lieu "— *i. e.* near the place.

Having spy'd a Cottage near the Bank of a Lake, we Feb. 1685
 drew towards it, and found an old Woman in it, who fled
 as soon as she saw us; but having overtaken and given
 her to understand, that we would do her no Harm, she
 return'd to her Cottage, where we found some Pitchers of
 Water, of which we all drank. Some Time after we saw
 a Canoe coming, in which were two Women and a Boy,
 who being landed, and perceiving we had done the old
 Woman no Harm, came and embraced us in a very par-
 ticular Manner, blowing upon our Ears and making Signs
 to give us to understand, that their People were a hunting.

*Odd Salu-
tation.*

A few Minutes after, seven or eight of the *Indians* ap-
 peared, who, it is likely, had hid themselves among the
 Weeds when they saw us coming. Being come up they
 saluted us, after the same Manner, as the Women had done,
 which made us laugh. We staid there some Time with
 them. Some of our Men barter'd Knives for Goats Skins,
 after which we return'd to our Camp; Being come thither,
 Monsieur *de la Sale* made me go aboard the Bark *la Belle*,
 where he had imbark'd Part of the Powder, with positive
 Orders not to carry, or permit any Fire to be made there,
 having sufficient Cause to fear every thing, after what had
 hapned. For this Reason they carry'd me and all that were
 with me, our Meat every Day.

During this time it was that *l'Aimable* opening in the
 Night, the next Morning we saw all the light Things that
 were come out of it floating about, and Monsieur *de la Sale*
 sent Men every Way, who gather'd up about 30 Casks of
 Wine and Brandy, and some of Flesh, Meal and Grain.

When we had gather'd all, as well what had been taken
 out of the Ship-wreck'd Vessel as what could be pick'd up
 in the Sea, the next Thing was to regulate the Provisions
 we had left proportionably to the Number of Men we
 were; and there being no more Bisket, Meal was deliver'd
 out, and with it we made Hasty Pudding with Water, which
 was none of the best; some large Beans and *India* Corn,
 part of which had taken wet; and every thing was dis-

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tributed very discreetly. We were much incommoded for want of Kettles, but Monsieur *de Beaujeu* gave Monsieur *de la Sale* one, and he order'd another to be brought from the Bark *la Belle*, by which means we were well serv'd.

We were still in want of Canoes. Monsieur *de la Sale* sent to the Camp of the *Indians* to barter for some, and they who went thither observ'd, that those People had made their Advantage of our Ship-wreck, and had some Bales of *Normandy* Blankets, and they saw several Women had cut them in two and made Petticoats of them. They also saw Bits of Iron of the Ship that was cast away, and return'd immediately to make their Report to Monsieur *de la Sale*, who said we must endeavour to get some Canoes in Exchange, and resolv'd to send thither again the next Day. Monsieur *du Hamel*, Ensign to Monsr. *de Beaujeu*, offer'd to go up in his Boat, which Monsieur *de la Sale* agreed to, and order'd Messieurs *Moranget*, his Nephew, *Desloges*, *Oris*, *Gayen*, and some others to bear him Company.

Indiscretion
of an En-
sign.

No sooner were those Gentlemen, who were more Hot than Wise, landed, but they went up to the Camp of the *Indians*, with their Arms in their Hands, as if they had intended to force them, whereupon several of those People fled. Going into the Cottages, they found others, to whom Monsieur *du Hamel* endeavor'd to signify by Signs, that he would have the Blankets they had found restor'd; but the Misfortune was, that none of them understood one another. The *Indians* thought it their best Way to withdraw, leaving behind them some Blankets and Skins of Beasts, which those Gentlemen took away, and finding some Canoes in their Return they seiz'd two, and got in, to bring them away.

But having no Oars, none of them knowing how to manage those Canoes, and having only some pitiful Poles, which they could not tell the right Use of, and the Wind being also against them, they made little Way; which the

Sieur *du Hamel*, who was in his Boat perceiving, and that March 1685 Night drew on, he made the best of his Way, forsook them and return'd to the Camp.

Thus Night came upon them, which oblig'd those un-experienc'd Canoe Men, being thoroughly tir'd, to go ashore to take some Rest, and the Weather being cold, they lighted a Fire, about which they laid them down and fell asleep; the Sentinel they had appointed doing the same. The *Indians* returning to their Camp, and perceiving our Men had carry'd away two Canoes, some Skins and Blankets, took it for a Declaration of a War, resolv'd to be reveng'd, and discovering an unusual Fire, presently concluded that our men had halted there. A considerable Number of them repair'd to the Place, without making the least Noise, found our careless People fast asleep, wrap'd up in their Blankets, and shot a full Volley of their Arrows upon them all together on a Sudden, having first given their usual Shout before they fall on.

*The Indians
take Re-
venge.*

The Sieur *Moranget* awaking with the Noise, and finding himself wounded, started up and fir'd his Piece successfully enough, some others did the like, whereupon the Natives fled. The Sieur *Moranget* came to give us the Alarm, though he was shot through one of his Arms, below the Shoulder, and had another slanting Wound on the Breast. Monsieur *de la Sale* immediately sent some arm'd Men to the Place, who could not find the *Indians*, but when Day appear'd, they found the Sieurs *Oris* and *Desloges* dead upon the Spot, the Sieur *Gayen* much hurt, and the rest all safe and sound.

*Sieurs 'Oris
and Desloges
kill'd.*

This Disaster, which happen'd the Night of the 5th of *March*, very much afflicted Monsieur *de la Sale*; but he chiefly lamented Monsieur *Desloges* a sprightly Youth, who serv'd well; but in short, it was their own Fault, and contrary to the Charge given them, which was to be watchful and upon their Guard. We were under Apprehensions for Messieurs *Moranget* and *Gayen*, lest the Arrows should be

March 1685 poison'd. It afterwards appear'd they were not, however Monsieur *Moranget's* Cure prov'd difficult, because some small Vessel was cut.

The Consequences of this Misfortune, together with the Concern, most of the best Persons who had follow'd Monsieur *de la Sale* were under,¹ supported the Design of those who were for returning to *France* and forsaking him, of which Number were Monsieur *Dainmarville*, a Priest of the Seminary of *St. Sulpice*, the *Sieur Minet*, Engineer and some others. The common Discourses of Monsieur *de la Sale's* Enemies tending to discredit his Conduct, and to represent the pretended Rashness of his Enterprize, contributed considerably towards the Desertion; but his Resolution prevailing, he heard and waited all Events with Patience, and always gave his Orders, without appearing the least discompos'd.

He caus'd the Dead to be brought to our Camp, and bury'd them Honourably, the Cannon supplying the Want of Bells, and then consider'd of making some safer Settlement. He caus'd all that had been sav'd from the Shipwreck, to be brought together into one Place, threw up Intrenchments about it, to secure his Effects, and perceiving that the Water of the River, where we were, rould down violently into the Sea, he fancy'd that might be one of the Branches of the *Missisipi*, and propos'd to go up it, to see whether he could find any Tokens of it, or of the Marks he had left, when he went down by Land to the Mouth of it.

*Debates
between
the Com-
manders.*

In the mean Time, Monsieur *de Beaujeu* was preparing to depart: The *Chevalier de Aire* had many Conferences with Monsieur *de la Sale* about several things, the latter demanded of Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, particularly the Cannon and Ball which were aboard the *Joly*, and had

¹ *Fr.* "jointes au dégoût qui la perte de nôtre navire avoit causé parmi la plupart des honnestes gens qui avoient suivi M. de la Salle" — together with the anxiety which the loss of our ship had occasioned among most of the people of respectability who had followed M. de La Salle. *C. C. edit.*

been design'd for him; which Monsieur *de Beaujeu* refus'd, March 1685 alledging that all those things lay at the Bottom of the Hold, and that he could not rummage it without evident Danger of perishing; tho', at the same time, he knew we had Eight Pieces of Cannon and not one Bullet.

I know not how that Affair was decided between them; but am sure he suffer'd the Captain of the Fly-boat *l'Aimable* to imbark aboard Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, tho' he deserv'd to be most severely punish'd, had Justice been done him. His Crew follow'd him, contrary to what Monsieur *de Beaujeu* had promis'd, that he would not receive a Man of them. All that Monsieur *de la Sale* could do, tho' so much wrong'd, was to write to *France*, to Monsieur *de Saignelay*, Minister of State, whom he acquainted with all the Particulars, as I was inform'd, when I return'd, and he gave the Packet to Monsieur *de Beaujeu*, who sail'd away for *France*.¹

Mr. de la Sale much wrong'd.

Mr. de Beaujeu leaves him.

Having lost the Notes I took at that time, and being forc'd to rely much upon Memory for what I now write, I shall not pretend to be any longer exact in the Dates, for fear of mistaking, and therefore I cannot be positive as to the Day of Monsieur *de Beaujeu's* Departure, but believe it was the 14th of *March*, 1685.

When Monsr. *de Beaujeu* was gone, we fell to Work to make a Fort, of the Wreck of the Ship that had been cast away, and many Pieces of Timber the Sea threw up; and during that Time, several Men deserted, which added to

A Fort built.

¹ Though evidently not altogether satisfied in his own mind that he had reached the mouth of the Mississippi, La Salle, desirous to relieve himself of the many complications and annoyances arising from the strained relations between himself and Beaujeu, decided to land his soldiers at a place which he named St. Louis Bay (now known as Matagardu Bay), thinking to send them northward along the coast until they should come to the principal outlet of the "fatal river" as Joutel frequently calls the Mississippi. While here the loss of the *Aniabile* and its valuable stores, the sickness of many of the company, and finally the departure of the *Joly* with Beaujeu, left La Salle in a sad plight. (See note concerning the relations between La Salle and Beaujeu, in Parkman's *La Salle*, ii, 133 (Champlain edition).)

March 1685

Monsieur de la Sale's Affliction. A Spaniard and a French Man stole away and fled, and were never more heard of. Four or five others follow'd their Example, but Monsieur de la Sale having timely Notice, sent after them, and they were brought back. One of them was condemn'd to Death, and the others to serve the King ten Years in that Country.

Monsr. de
la Sale
goes to dis-
cover up
the River.

When our Fort was well advanc'd, Monsr. de la Sale resolv'd to clear his Doubts, and to go up the River, where we were, to know whether it was not an Arm of the *Missisipi*, and accordingly order'd fifty Men to attend him, of which Number were Monsr. *Cavelier*, his Brother, and Monsr. *Chedeville*, both Priests, two Recolet Fryars, and several Voluntiers, who set out in five Canoes we had, with the necessary Provisions. There remain'd in the Fort about an hundred and thirty Persons, and Monsr. de la Sale gave me the Command of it, with Orders not to have any Commerce with the Natives, but to fire at them if they appear'd.

Returns.

Whilst Monsr. de la Sale was absent, I caus'd an Oven to be built, which was a great Help to us, and employ'd my self in finishing the Fort, and putting it in a Posture to withstand the *Indians*, who came frequently in the Night to range about us, howling like Wolves and Dogs; but two or three¹ Musquet Shots put them to Flight. It happen'd one Night, that having fir'd six or seven Shot, Monsieur de la Sale who was not far from us, heard them, and being in Pain about it, he return'd with six or seven Men, and found all Things in a good Posture.

Sets out
again.

He told us he had found a good Country, fit to sow and plant all Sorts of Grain, abounding in Beeves and wild Fowl; that he design'd to erect a Fort farther up the River,² and accordingly, he left me Orders to square out as much Timber as I could get, the Sea casting up much upon the Shore. He had given the same Orders to the Men he had

¹ Fr. "trois ou quatre"—three or four.

² Fr. "vouloit faire un Fort plus avant dans le pays"—designed to establish a fortified post farther inland. C. C. edit.

left on the Spot, seven or eight of whom, detach'd from the rest, being busy at that Work, and seeing a Number of the Natives, fled, and unadvisedly left their Tools behind them. Monseieur *de la Sale* returning thither, found a Paper made fast to a Reed, which gave him Notice of that Accident, which he was concern'd at, because of the Tools, not so much for the Value of the Loss, as because it was furnishing the Natives with such Things as they might afterwards make Use of against us. *Apr. 1685*

About the Beginning of *April* we were alarm'd by a Vessel which appear'd at Sea, near enough to discern the Sails, and we supposed they might be *Spaniards*, who had heard of our Coming and were ranging the Coast to find us out. That made us stand upon our Guard, to keep within the Fort, and see that our Arms were fit for Service. We afterwards saw two Men in that Vessel, who¹ instead of coming to us, went towards the other Point, and by that Means pass'd on, without perceiving us. *A Spanish Vessel appears.*

Having one Day observ'd, that the Water work'd and bubbled up, and afterwards perceiving it was occasion'd by the Fish skipping from Place to Place, I caused a Net to be brought, and we took a prodigious Quantity of Fish, among which were many *Dorado's* or Gilt-Heads, Mulletts and others about as big as a Herring, which afforded us good Food for several Days. This fishery, which I caused to be often follow'd, was a great Help towards our Subsistance. *Plenty of Fish taken.*

About that Time, and on *Easter-day* that Year, an unfortunate Accident befel Monsieur *le Gros*. After Divine Service he took a Gun to go kill Snipes about the Fort. He shot one, which fell into a Marsh; he took off his Shoes and Stockings to fetch it out, and returning, through Carelessness trod upon a Rattle Snake, so call'd, because it has a Sort of Scale on the Tail, which makes a Noise. The Serpent bit him a little above the Ankle, he was carefully *Rattle Snake bites Mr. le Gros.*

¹ *Fr.* "vaisseau, qui"—i. e. ship, which.

Apr. 1685

dress'd and look'd after, yet after having endur'd very much, he dy'd at last, as I shall mention in its Place. Another more unlucky Accident befell us, one of our Fishermen swimming about the Net to gather the Fish, was carry'd away by the Current, and could not be help'd by us.

May 1685

Our Men sometimes went about several little Salt Water Lakes, that were near our Fort, and found on the Banks a Sort of flat Fishes, like Turbots asleep, which they struck with sharp pointed Sticks, and they were good Food. Providence also shew'd us that there was Salt made by the Sun, upon several little Salt Water Pools there were in divers Places, for having observ'd that there grew on them a Sort of white Substance, like the Cream upon Milk, I took care every Day to send and fetch that Scum off, which prov'd to be a very white and good Salt, whereof I gather'd a Quantity, and it did us good Service.

*Salt found
in Pools.*

*Indians
come to the
Fort.*

Some of our Hunters having seen a Parcel of wild Goats running as if they were frighted, judg'd they were pursued by the *Indians*, and came for Refuge to the Fort, and to give me Notice. Accordingly some Time after, we discover'd a Parcel of Natives, who came and posted themselves on an Eminence, within Cannon Shot, some of them drew off from the rest and approach'd the Fort by the Way of the Downs. I caused our Men immediately to handle their Arms, and wet Blankets to be laid on our Huts, to prevent their being burnt by the Fire the Savages sometimes shoot with their Arrows. All this Time those who had separated themselves from the rest, being three in Number, still drew nearer, making Signs for us to go to them; but Monsieur *de la Sale* had forbid me having any Commerce with them; however, since they had neither Bows nor Arrows, we made signs to them to draw near, which they did without hesitating.

We went out to meet them, Monsieur *Moranget* made them sit down, and they gave us to understand by Signs, that their People were hunting near us; being able to make no more of what they said, Monsieur *Moranget* was for

knocking out their Brains, to revenge their having murder'd our Companions, but I would not consent to it, since they had come confiding in us. I made Signs to them to be gone, which they did as fast as they could, some small Shot we fir'd into the Air making them run, and a Cannon Shot, I pointed towards the rising Ground, where the rest were, put them all to Flight. June 1685

These Accidents made us double our Guards, since we were at open War with that crafty Nation, which let slip no Opportunity to surprize us, and therefore Penalties were appointed for such as should be found asleep upon Sentinel; the Wooden-Horse was set up for them without Remission; and by Means of such Precautions we sav'd our Lives.

Thus we spent the rest of the Month, till the Beginning of *June*. In the mean Time, Monsieur *de la Sale* had begun to make another Settlement, in the Place he before told us of, looking upon it as better, because it was further up the Country.¹ To that Purpose he sent to us the *Sieur de Villeperdry* with two Canoes and Orders for the *Sieur Moranget* to repair to him, if he were recover'd, and that all the Men should march, except 30 of the ablest to make a good Defence, who were to stay with me in the Fort. The rest being seventy Persons, as well Men and Women as Children, set up with the *Sieur Moranget*; and we being but a small Number remaining. I caused the Fort to be brought into a less Compass, to save posting so many Sentinels. Second Settlement.

Our little Company began to take Satisfaction in the Ease of getting and the Nature of our Provisions, which a greater Number has more Difficulty to be supply'd with, and which we had Plenty of, by Means of Hunting and Fishing, those being our principal Employments, and we liv'd well enough contented, expecting to be remov'd. However there were some Malecontents, who resolv'd to desert; but finding a Difficulty to put it in Execution, for that they could A Conspiracy discover'd.

¹This was on the river *Lavaca* (*La Vache*) at the head of *Matagorda Bay*, and called by *Joutel Rivière aux Bœufs*.

July 1685

neither get Arms, nor Powder nor Ball, because the *Sieur le Gros* and I kept all lock'd up, and were very vigilant, that none might be lavishly spent, they took the cruel Resolution to rid themselves of us.

That bloody Massacre was to begin by me, when I was asleep, and then to proceed to the *Sieur le Gros*, who lay in the Magazine, or Warehouse, and was in no Condition to defend himself, because his Leg was still swollen, and put him to much Pain. The Execution was to be by stabbing. One of the Conspirators reveal'd this to the *Sieur Devault*, a Hunter, who immediately came and acquainted me. I did not just then take Notice of what I had been told; but in the Evening, when they return'd from hunting, I caused one to be secur'd, who presently confess'd all. His Accomplice was also seiz'd, and it was very troublesom to secure them till the Time when we should remove.

About the Middle of *July*, the Bark *la Belle* came and anchor'd near us. An Order was brought me from *Monsieur de la Sale*, directing me to put aboard it all the Effects that were in our Fort, to make a Float of the Timber I had caused to be squar'd, if Time would permit, if not to bury it in the Ground. Every Man set his Hand to the Work, with all possible Diligence, and our two Prisoners were put aboard, as was also *Monsieur le Gros* and his Surgeon, with all our Effects.

The Float was begun with immense Labour; but the Weather proving very Stormy, and holding very long, I was oblig'd to cause what had been done to be taken in Pieces, and to bury the Timber in the Sand, the best we could, that the Natives might not find it.

*The First
Fort abandon'd.*

We then set out towards the Place where the *Indians* had been encamp'd, when *Monsieur de la Sale* went the first time to see them. We found no Creature, and lay there that Night. and so proceeded along the Sea Coast, without any Accident, to the Camp of the *Sieur Hurie*, which was a Post in the Way, where *Monsieur de la Sale*

had order'd all our Effects to be laid up. It had no other Inclosure but Chests and Barrels; but there was nothing to fear from the *Europeans*. July 1685

We spent the Night at that Post, and two Canoes coming thither the next Morning, I went aboard one of them, with Part of my Company, and join'd Monsieur *de la Sale* the next Day, at the Place where he had resolv'd to make his new Settlement. I gave him an Account of all that had happen'd, and was amaz'd to see Things so ill begun and so little advanc'd. As for the Plantation, the Seed and Grain put into the Ground, was either lost through Drought, or eaten by Birds or Beasts. There were several Dead, and among them the *Sieur de Villeperdry*; many sick, and of that Number Monsieur *Cavalier* the Priest; no Shelter but a little square Place stak'd in, where the Powder was and some Casks of Brandy; many other Inconveniences there were, which made all Things appear in a miserable Condition. *Ill posture
of the 2d.
Settlement.*

It was requisite to think of building a large Lodgment, Monsieur *de la Sale* design'd it, but the Difficulty was to get proper Timber for Building. There was a little Wood, where a good Quantity might be had, but it was a League up the Country, and we had neither Carts nor Horses to carry it; however Monsr. *de la Sale* sent Workmen thither, with others to guard them. The Trees were cut down and squar'd, but the Carpenters were so ignorant, that Monsr. *de la Sale* was forc'd to act the Master Builder, and to mark out the Pieces for the Work he design'd. Some of those Pieces of Timber were dragg'd to the Camp, over the Grass and Weeds the Plain was cover'd with; afterwards the Carriage of a Gun was made use of; but all cost so much Labour, that the ablest Men were quite spent. *Hava
Labour.*

This excessive Toil, the poor Sustenance the labouring Men had, and that often retrench'd as a Penalty for having fail'd in doing their Duty; the Uneasiness Monsieur *de la Sale* was under to see nothing succeed as he had

Aug. 1685

*Carpenter
lost.*

imagin'd, and which often made him insult the Men, when there was little Reason for it; All these things together afflicted very many so sensibly, that they visibly declin'd, and above thirty dy'd. The Loss of so many Men was follow'd by that of the Master Carpenter, who was returning one Evening with me; but I happening to step aside to kill some wild Fowl, when I came to our Habitation I found him not, and it was never known what became of him; an Accident which added to our Vexation, for tho' he had but little Skill at his Trade, yet we stood in Need of him.

Notwithstanding all those Dissappointments, enough Timber was carry'd or rather dragg'd, to build the House Monsieur *de la Sale* designed, and he was himself the Architect. He mark'd out the Lengths, the Tenants and Mortises, and made good the Defect of the Workmen and calling to Mind that I had bury'd several Pieces of Timber at our first Habitation, which might be of Use, he order'd me to take two Canoes and 20 men, to go fetch them, in the Bark *la Belle*, which was with us.

Being come to the Place, we found the Natives had discover'd our Timber, and carry'd away some Planks, to pick out the Nails there were in them, which they value very much, to point their Arrows. We labour'd to make a Float, loaded the Bark *la Belle* with the rest of the Planks and other Effects, and set out again. Some of the Natives appear'd whilst we were at Work, but seeing us advance towards them, with our Arms in our Hands, they fled.

*Second
Settlement.*

We return'd safe to Monsieur *de la Sale*, who was glad to see us, tho' we had lost one of the Canoes, for want of its being well made fast to the Float; but the Timber we brought was a mighty help towards carrying on his Design, and much fitter than that we had hew'd in the Wood, with so much Labour; so that this Timber occasion'd the raising another Structure contiguous to the former. All was cover'd with Planks, and Bullocks Hides over them. The Apartments were divided, and all of them well cover'd.

The Stores had a Place apart, and that Dwelling had the name of St. *Lewis* given it, as well as the Neighbouring Bay.¹ Sep. 1685

The *Sieur le Gros*, who had remain'd aboard the Bark *La Belle*, ever since the first Voyage she made to our former Habitation, was carry'd ashore to the new One, and his Leg still swelling, the Surgeon was apprehensive of a Mortification, and advis'd him to consent to have it cut off. He did so, tho' with Regret, the Operation was made, but a Fever follow'd immediately, and he liv'd but two Days, dying on the Feast of the Decollation of St. *John Baptist*, much lamented by all Men, and particularly by Monsieur *de la Sale*, to whom he was very serviceable, by reason of his general Knowledge, and his particular Fidelity towards him. Monsieur *Carpentier*, Son to the Master of the Works and the *Sieur Thibault*, both of Roan, and some others, dy'd about the same time. Mr. le Gros dies and others.

Monsieur *de la Sale* being desirous to take a Progress, to find his fatal *Missisipi* River, and only expecting the Recovery of his Brother Monsieur *Cavalier*, who was to bear him Company, he began to make some Preparations towards it, and in the mean time, took some small Journeys of four or five Leagues about, but could learn nothing further, than that it was a very fine Country, hem'd in on one Side by a small Mountain, which appear'd at about Fifteen or Twenty Leagues distance; beautify'd with very fine Trees, and water'd by many little Rivers, whereof that, on which we had built our Habitation was the least. We call'd it *la Riviere aux Bœufs*, that is the River of River of Bullocks. Bullocks, by reason of the great Number of them there was about it. These Bullocks are very like ours, there are Thousands of them, but instead of Hair they have a very long curl'd Sort of Wool.²

¹ St. Louis Bay, St. Bernard's Bay, Matagorda Bay, Esperitu Bay — are all names by which this Bay has been known. La Salle had a peculiar *penchant* for naming his forts, and after his royal master, Louis XIV; New Fort, St. Louis of the Illinois, Fort St. Louis of Texas, etc.

² In the *Fr.* this sentence is a marginal note.

Sep. 1685

Monsieur *de la Sale* Studying all Ways to find out the River *Missisipi*, imagin'd it might fall into the adjacent Bay, and resolv'd to go view all the Coasts about it, and to make use of the Bark *la Belle*. Accordingly he order'd me to repair to the said Bark, with five Men and a Canoe, into which he put his Cloaths, and other Effects in several Chests.

That short Voyage was very troublesome to us, by reason of the foul Weather, with contrary Winds and Storms, which had like to have overwhelm'd us, and what was still worse, we did not find the Bark, where we had left her. We went on a League further, to no Purpose, and Provisions beginning to fall short, because we had been six Days on the Way, instead of three, we resolv'd to return to the Place from whence we came.

Monsieur *de la Sale* seeing us return at a distance, came to meet us. Our Report troubled him for the Bark, which he stood in need of, so that he resolv'd to go himself to seek her, imbarc'd in a Canoe, and sent me another Way, in another. After having wander'd about all that Day, the next Night and the Day following, we at last perceiv'd her, where she lay under Shelter in a little Creek, having been in Danger of Perishing by the foul Weather we had been in, and had lost her Boat, which was not well made fast.

*Boat of the
Bark lost.*

Oct. 1685

The Bark was also discover'd by Monsieur *de la Sale*, who was on the other side, which made him draw near and land, whence he sent his Canoe to the said Bark, and Monsieur *Moranget* who commanded it, went aboard to meet him. The Loss of the Boat troubled Monsieur *de la Sale*, I sent a Canoe to bring him, but to no Purpose; however the Trunks were put aboard the Bark.

*What Stores
they had.*

Monsieur *Cavalier* the Priest, being recover'd Monsieur *de la Sale* prepar'd to set out with all Speed. He was pleas'd to Honour me with the Command, during his Absence, and left me an Inventory of all that was in our Habitation, consisting of Eight Pieces of Cannon, two Hundred Firelocks, as many Cutlaces, an Hundred Barrels of Powder, three Thousand Weight of Ball, about three Hundred

Weight of other Lead, some Bars of Iron, twenty Packs Nov. 1685
of Iron to make Nails, some Iron Work and Tools, as
Hatchets and the like.

As for Provisions, all that were left me amounted to twenty Casks of Meal, one Cask and a half of Wine, three Quarters of a Cask of Brandy, and for living Creatures some few Swine, a Cock and a Hen; which is very short of what has been Publish'd by the Author of a Book entituled, *The first Establishment in New France*: but the Reason of it is, that he compiled his Work upon the Credit of Relations, which were as false as to the Point of the Ammunition and Provisions, remaining in our Habitation, when Monsieur *de la Sale* set out that Time, as concerning the Fort well condition'd, and the Magazines or Storehouses under Ground, which are all imaginary, there being Nothing but the House I have mention'd, pallisado'd, with some old Stakes.

Monsr. *de la Sale* farther order'd me not to receive any Men of those he took along with him, unless they brought an Order from him in Writing; nor to hold or admit of any Communication with the Natives, but rather to fire upon them, and some other Particulars he thought fit to be observ'd. He had made himself a Coat of Mail with small Laths, to secure himself against the Arrows, which he took along with him, he also took the Canoes, and promis'd to send me one back. Five Cannon Shot were the Signal of his Departure.

He took his Way along the lower Part of the River, to march by Land along the neighbouring Bay, which was call'd of St. *Lewis*, the Canoes keeping within Sight. I was left in the Habitation with thirty four Persons, Men, Women and Children, and of that Number were three *Recolet* Friars, the Sieur *Huric*, who was to command in my Absence, one of the Sieurs *Duhaut*, the Sieurs *Thibault* and a Surgeon.

Monsr. de la Sale goes out to discover St. Lewis's Bay.

Our Provisions being very small, and it being requisite to spare them, for the Sick, we were oblig'd to apply our selves to Fishing and Shooting. Both of them at first

Nov. 1685 prov'd very unsuccessful, especially the latter; because we were not yet well vers'd in them, and Monsieur *de la Sale* had taken our Huntsman along with him; but at length, Necessity made us more expert. We kill'd Beeves, some of which I caus'd to be dry'd, and they were a considerable Help to subsist us.

Hunter dies with Cold. Some Days after, the Canoe Monsieur *de la Sale* had promis'd me, arrived with three Soldiers, who brought us the News of the Loss of the Huntsman Monsieur *de la Sale* had taken along with him, and who had been found dead with Cold in a Ditch, where he had lain down to rest after hunting, which troubled us all very much. They also inform'd us, that Monsr. *de la Sale* advancing towards some Dwellings the Natives had abandon'd, after a small Resistance, some of whom had been wounded as they fled, they had taken and brought a Girl and a Woman, who was shot thro' the Thigh, of which she dy'd.¹

Dec. 1685 The Canoe was a great Help to us to carry what we kill'd, which being brought to our Habitation, found Employment for all Persons, some to flea, others to cut up, and others to dry it. At other Times, I set some of our men to throw up a Trench about our Habitation.

Jan. 1686 Thus we spent our Time, till about the Middle of *January*, 1686, when being all, one Evening, in our Mansion, the Sentinel came in to acquaint me, that he heard a Voice towards the River; some men ran thither immediately, and found a Man in a Canoe, crying, *Dominick*, which was the Name of young *Duhaut*, who was with us. The Sight of that made me apprehensive lest some Disaster was befallen Monsr. *de la Sale*. I drew near, and perceiv'd it was *Duhaut* the Elder, that was return'd.

Duhaut
returns
from Mr.
de la Sale.

I ask'd, him whether he had any Letters from Monsieur

¹ The construction of this sentence, leaves us somewhat in doubt, as to whether the girl and the woman were not one and the same person. In the *Fr.* it reads "une fille, une femme blessée à la cuisse d'un coup de fusil, dont elle mourut—a girl, a woman wounded in the thigh by a gun-shot, who died of the wound." *C. C. edit.*

de la Sale, he answer'd he had not. It gave me some Uneasiness, considering I was forbid admitting any Man without an Order in Writing, and I was almost resolv'd to secure him; but the Account he gave me of the Occasion of his returning wholly clear'd him. I admitted him, and he told me the whole Matter as follows.

Monsr. *de la Sale*, having staid some Time on the Sea Shore, near the Place where the Bark was at Anchor he resolv'd to try the Anchoring Places of the Coasts round about, to know how near the Bark *la Belle* might come. To that Purpose he sent the Pilot with 5 of the best Men to sound.

The Pilot did as he was order'd, he sounded and observed the proper Places to come near several Coasts. At Night he and his Men being in all likelihood tir'd, they thought fit to go Ashore and lie upon the Land. They made a Fire, perhaps to dress some Meat; but neglecting to stand upon their Guard, they were surpriz'd, and all six of them kill'd by the Savages; who also broke their Canoe, and thus reveng'd themselves for the Irruption Monsr. *de la Sale* had lately made among them.

*Six Men
killed by
Natives.*

More Time being elaps'd than Monsieur *de la Sale* had allotted those Men to return, he grew uneasy, and went himself along the Coast, to see if any News could be had of them, and keeping along the Shore, he found the sad Remains of those unfortunate Wretches, whose Carcasses scatter'd about, were torn and almost devour'd by Wolves or Wild Dogs, a Spectacle which went to his Heart.

However this Loss, which afflicted him, and particularly for the Sake of the Pilot, who was an able Man, did not quite cast him down; but exerting himself against his Misfortunes, he caus'd Flesh to be dry'd, and with that and the other Provisions he victuall'd the Bark *la Belle*. He caus'd it to advance into the Bay, put a good Number of Men on Board to secure it, among whom were Monsieur *Chedeville*, the Priest, and *Plantcrose* of *Roan*, and order'd them not

Jan. 1686

to stir from that Place till they heard from him, and not to go Ashore, unless with a good Guard and necessary Precautions.

Next, he chose out Twenty Men, imbark'd on two Canoes he had left, and being come Ashore, caus'd the Canoes to be sunk in the River, and every Man to take up his Bundle, consisting of Arms, Tools, some Utensils for the Kitchin, a few Goods, to trade with the Natives, if he should find any sociable, and so advanc'd into the Country, to try if any Notice could be had of the *Missisipi*.

*La Maligne
River.*

After several Days March, they came to a good pleasant River, which they afterwards call'd *la Maligne*. Monsieur *de la Sale* marching at the Head of the Company, and having order'd Monsieur *Moranget* to keep in the Rear; it happen'd that *Duhaut* stopping to mend his Snapsack¹ and his Shoes, which were in a bad Condition; the Sieur *Moranget* coming up, commanded him to March, he desired him to stay a little. *Moranget* would not, but held on his Way; *Duhaut* follow'd some Time after, but having stay'd too long, he could not overtake the Company, and found himself about Night fall in a Plain full of Weeds, where there were several Tracks of the Way Cattle had gone, but knew not which of them to take. He fir'd his Piece several Times, without hearing any thing of his Company, and was oblig'd to pass the Night in that same Place.

*Strange
Adventure.*

In the Morning he shot again, spent the Day and Night again in that Place, so that not knowing what to do, he return'd the same Way he had gone, and after a Month's March, for he travell'd only by Night, for Fear of meeting with the Savages, living upon what he kill'd with much Difficulty and Danger, having before spent all his own Provisions; at length after most unaccountable Hardships and Sufferings, he arriv'd at the Place where the Canoes had been sunk. He took one of them up, with incredible Labour, and too long to relate, and so came to our Habitation of St.

¹ *Fr.* "paquet," or knapsack.

Lewis. Thus it pleas'd God that he who was to be one of the Murderers of Monsieur *de la Sale*, should come off safe, and surmount almost infinite Dangers. Feb. 1686

This Account, which seem'd to carry the Face of Probability, prevail'd with me to receive the *Sieur Duhaut*, and in Reality I could do no otherwise, and I made it my Business to examine into his Behaviour, but could find Nothing to lay to his Charge. We continued some Time longer as we had been before; during the which, I caus'd another little Wooden Structure to be made, of Timber, I had got together, and in it I lodg'd the Women and Maidens by themselves. Having hitherto said Nothing of the Situation of our Dwelling of *St. Lewis*, nor of the Nature of the Country we were in, I will here venture upon a plain but true Description.

We were in about the 27th Degree of North Latitude, two Leagues up the Country, near the Bay of *St. Lewis* and the Bank of the River *aux Bœufs*, on a little Hillock, whence we discover'd vast and beautiful Plains, extending very far to the Westward, all level and full of Greens, which afford Pasture to an infinite Number of Beeves and other Créatures. *Description
of the
Country
and Dwelling
at St.
Lewis.*

Turning from the West to the Southward, there appear'd other Plains adorn'd with several little Woods of several Sorts of Trees. Towards the South and East was the Bay, and the Plains that hem it in from the East; to the Northward, was the River running along by a little Hill,¹ *The Land.*

¹ *Fr.* "On voyoit du Côté du midy, & vers l'Orient, la Baye, & les campagnes qui la bordent, de l'Orient au Septentrion, la Riviere se presentoit le long d'un petit costan,"—To the southward and eastward stretched the Bay and the fields which border it, from the east to the north, the river appeared along a gentle slope.—[The phrase, "From the east to the north" squints both ways; the reader must determine the meaning. Perhaps, in the editor's translation, the comma after the words "border it" should be removed, so as to make the phrase "from the east to the north" qualify the verb "border." Although the editor's studies have not qualified him to express an authoritative opinion upon this point of historical geography, he hazards the guess that this river is one of those flowing into Galveston Bay.] *C. C. edit.*

Feb. 1686

beyond which there were other large Plains, with some little Tufts of Wood at small Distances, terminating in a Border of Wood, which seem'd to us to be very high.

*Living
Creatures.*

Between that little Hill and our Dwelling, was a Sort of Marsh, and in it Abundance of wild Fowl, as Curlies, Water-Hens and other Sorts. In the Marsh there were little Pools full of Fish. We had also an infinite Number of Beeves, wild Goats, Rabbits, Turkeys, Bustards, Geese, Swans, Feldifares, Plovers, Teal, Partridges and many other Sorts of Fowl fit to eat, and among them one call'd *le grand Gosier*, or, the great Gullet, because it has a very large one; another as big and Fleshy as a Pullet, which we called the *Spatula*, because it's Beak is shap'd like one, and the Feathers of it being of a pale Red, are very beautiful.

Fish.

As for Fish, we had several Sorts in the River and in the Lakes I have mention'd. The River afforded a Sort of Barbles, differing from ours in Roundness, in their having three Bones sticking out, one on the Back, the others on each Side of the Head, and in the Flesh, which is like Cod, and without Scales. The River supply'd us with Abundance of other Fishes, whose Names we know not. The Sea afforded us Oysters, Eeles, Trouts, a Sort of red Fishes and others whose long, sharp and hard Beak tore all our Nets.

Tortoises.

We had Plenty both of Land and Sea Tortoises, whose Eggs serv'd to season our Sauces. The Land Tortoises differ from those of the Sea, as being smaller, round, and their Shell more beautiful. They hide themselves in Holes they find or make in the Earth. It was looking for these Tortoises, that one of our Surgeons, thrust his Arm into a Hole, and was bit by some venomous Creature, which we suppos'd to be a Sort of Toad, having four Feet, the Top of his Back sharp and very hard, with a little Tail. Whether it was this Creature, or a Snake, his Arm swelled very much, however he was cured by such Applications as were made Use of; but it cost him a Finger was cut off.

*Venomous
Creatures.*

*Rattle-
Snakes.*

Among the venomous Sorts of Snakes, as Vipers, Asps and others, whereof there are many, those call'd Rattle-

Snakes are the most common. They generally lye among *Feb. 1686* the Brambles, where they make a Noise by the Motion of two Scales they have at the End of their Tail, which is heard at a considerable Distance, and therefore they are call'd Rattle-Snakes. Some of our Men had eaten of them and found their Flesh was not amiss, and when we had kill'd any of them, our Swine made a good Meal.

There are also many Alligators in the Rivers, some of *Alligators.* them of a frightful Magnitude and Bulk. I kill'd one that was between four and five Foot about, and twenty Foot in Length, on which our Swine feasted. This Creature has very short Legs, insomuch that it rather drags along than walks, and it is easy to follow the Tract of it, either among the Weeds or on the Sands, where it has been. It is very ravenous, and attacks either Men or Beasts, when they are within Reach in the River, and comes also ashore to seek for Food. It has this particular Quality, that it flies from such as pursue, and pursues those who fly from it. I have shot many of them dead.

The Woods are composed of Trees of several Sorts. *Trees.* There are Oaks, some of them ever green and never without Leaves; others like ours in *Europe*, bearing a Fruit much like our Galls, and lose their Leaves in Winter, and another Sort not unlike ours in *France*, but the Bark of them thicker, these as well as the second Sort bear an Acorn, differing from ours both in Taste and Bigness.

There is a Sort of Tree, which bears small Berries, which, *Dangerous* when ripe, are red, and indifferent pleasant. It bears twice *Fruit.* a Year, but the second Crop never ripens. There is another Tree, bearing a Fruit not unlike *Cassia*, in Taste and Virtue.

There are others of the Sort I had seen in the Islands, whose Leaves are like Rackets, whence the Tree bears the Name. The Blossoms grow out about the Leaves, and of them comes a Fruit somewhat resembling Figs, but the Leaves and the Fruit are full of Prickles, which must be carefully rubb'd and taken off, before it is eaten, else they dangerously inflame the Mouth and the Throat, and may

Feb. 1686

prove mortal, as happen'd to one of our Soldiers, who had eaten of them too greedily, and without that Precaution.

I have seen some Trees resembling the Palm, whose lofty and long Branches spread like that call'd the *Latanier*, bearing a Fruit, said to be indifferent good. Others the same Sort, but whose Leaves are like Gutters, harsh and so sharp pointed, that they will pierce the thickest Stuffs. This Tree has a Sprout on the Top, which shoots out Flowers in the Shape of a Nosegay, of a whitish yellow, and some of them at the Top of that Sprout have sixty or eighty Flowers hanging down, not unlike the Flower de Luce, and after those Flowers follows a Fruit as long as a Man's Finger, and thicker than the Thumb, full of little Seeds, so that there is scarce any Thing but the Rhind fit to eat, the Taste whereof is sweet and delicate.

Vines.

There are Abundance of creeping Vines and others, that run up the Bodies and to the Tops of Trees, which bear plenty of Grapes, fleshy and sharp, not to compare to the Delicacy of ours in *Europe*; but we made Verjuice of them, which was very good in Sauce. Mulberry Trees are numerous along the Rivers, their Fruit is smaller, but sweeter and more delicious than ours; their Leaves are beautiful and large, which would be of good Use for feeding of Silkworms.

Plants.

The Plains are strew'd with a Sort of small Sorrel, the Leaf whereof is like Trefoil, and the Taste of it sharp like ours. There are Abundance of small Onions, no bigger than the Top of a Man's Finger, but very well tasted, and when the Heat has scorch'd up the Plains, that Plant shoots out first, and produces Flowers which look like an agreeable Enamel. Nothing is more beautiful than to behold those vast Plains, when the Blossoms appear; a thousand Sorts of different Colours, whereof many¹ have an agreeable Scent, adorn those Fields, and afford a most charming

¹ [The ascription of an agreeable odor to the colors is found in the original. Perhaps the *Fr.* "couleurs" is a misprint for "fleurs."] M. B. A.

Object to the Eye. I have observed some that smelt like a March 1686 Tuberose, but the Leaf resembles our Borage. I have seen Primroses, having a Scent like ours, *African* Gilliflowers, and a Sort of purple wind Flowers. The Autumn Flowers are almost all of them yellow, so that the Plains look all of that Colour.

The Climate is mild and temperate, tho' we were in about 27 Degrees of North Latitude, and yet the Seeds I caused to be sow'd did not thrive; whether it was because they had been soak'd in the Sea Water, or for any other Reason. Some came up pretty well, as Pompions, Melons, Parsnips and Endive; but the Beasts and the Insects, left us not much. When we come to the *Cenis* and have travers'd so many Nations as lay between us and them, I shall speak of the Religion, Manners, Cloathing, Houses and Customs of the Natives, wherein they differ but little from one another, tho' of several Countries.

Monsieur *de la Sale* had been now long gone, and we began to be in Pain for him, when about the Middle of *March* 1686, hapning to be on the Top of the House, I spied seven or eight Persons coming towards us. I presently ordered eight arm'd Men to follow me, to go meet them; and as soon as we drew near them, we knew Monsieur *de la Sale*, Monsieur *Cavelier*, his brother, Monsieur *Moranget*, his Nephew and five or six Men with them, the rest being gone another Way to find out the Bark *la Belle*, to give Notice of Monsieur *de la Sale's* Arrival.

They were in a bad Condition, their Cloaths ragged, Monsieur *Cavelier's* short Cassock hung in Tatters; most of them had not Hats, and their Linen was no better; however the Sight of Monsieur *de la Sale* rejoyc'd us all. The Account he gave us of his Journey reviv'd our Hopes, tho' he had not found the fatal River, and we thought only of making ourselves as merry as we could. Only the Sight of the Sieur *Duhaut* interrupted it for some Time. Monsieur *de la Sale* ask'd me in an angry Manner, why I had

Monsieur de la Sale returns.

March 1686 receiv'd him, and *Duhaut* having given his Reasons, as I and my Men did,¹ we were all satisfy'd.

*The Bark
la Belle
lost.*

The next Day, the *Sieurs le Barbier, Bihorel, le Petit, Cavalier*, the Nephew, the Surgeon and others, whom *Monsieur de la Sale* had sent to find out and carry Advice to the Bark *la Belle*, return'd, and said they could not find her, which was another fresh Cause of Much Uneasiness to *Monsieur de la Sale*. He had been guilty of the Fault of putting aboard her, his Cloaths, his Linen, his Papers and all his best Effects, of all which he was then in the utmost Need. Besides, that Loss broke all the Measures he had concerted during his last Expedition, because he had resolv'd to cause the said Bark to go up one of the Rivers he had discover'd, to advance towards those Nations with whom he had contracted some Friendship, and to send me in the same Bark, with his Nephew *Moranget*, to the Islands to seek for some Assistance, or else to return by Sea to look for his River.

All these Designs being disappointed, he resolv'd to set out a second Time, and travel by Land, to find out his River.² He staid to rest him a while, and to provide for his Departure, but having neither Linen nor Cloaths, I supply'd him with some I had; I also afforded some Linen to *Monsieur Cavalier*, his Brother and *Monsieur Moranget*, his Nephew. All I had was at their Service, and I depriv'd myself of all that was fit for them, even to ten or twelve

¹ The original *Fr.* expression seems preferable: viz., “& *Duhaut* ayant dit ses raisons, & moy les miennes, . . .” — and *Duhaut* having given his reasons, and I mine. *C. C. edit.*

² *La Salle*, now apparently convinced that in his approach by sea, he had missed the mouth of the Mississippi which he so eagerly sought, determined to retrace, by land, the long route to Canada, in order to secure supplies and succor for the little colony in Texas, and to report their state to France. In this design, he appears to have been even more reticent than usual; since few, if any, seem to have been informed of the real extent of the journey before them.

Almost at the outset of their undertaking, the little frigate *Belle*, which was to have accompanied them — as far as possible — along the coast — was lost, and all of her crew perished, except three or four, who were washed ashore, and rejoined *Joutel's* party, only after three months' absence.

Pounds of strings of Beads and some Knives and Nails,¹ *Apr. 1686*
 which Monsieur *de la Sale* took.

The Sieur *Duhaut*, having several Effects, as Linen, Hatchets and other Tools and Commodities, which had been sav'd from the Shipwreck, Monsieur *de la Sale* took Linen to make Shirts, for such as wanted, as also the Tools they stood in Need of. The Cloaths belonging to Messieurs *Thibault*, *le Gros* and *Carpentier*, who were dead, were also distributed. A great Belt I had, serv'd to make Shoes for Monsieur *de la Sale* and Monsieur *Cavelier*.

All Things being thus provided, Monsieur *de la Sale* took twenty Men along with him, among whom were Monsieur *Cavelier* his Brother, F. *Anastasius* a Reolet, Monsieur *Moranget* his Nephew, the Sieurs *Bihorel*, *le Clerk*, *Hurier*, *Duhaut* the younger, *Hiens* his Surgeon, and his Servants. He left behind those, who were not fit to undertake that second Journey, among whom were little Monsieur *Cavelier*² his Nephew, the Sieur *Barbier*, *Canadien* and some others. Each of the Travellers made up his Pack, and they set out towards the latter End of *April 1686*,³ after having given me the necessary Orders, and we parted without Ceremony, Monsieur *de la Sale* desiring it should be so.

Some Days after he was gone, I heard a Voice towards the lower Part of the River, crying twice *Qui vive*, or who are you for. I made that Way, and perceiv'd the Sieur *Chedeville* a Priest, the Sieur *de la Sablonniere*, and some others of those who had been put aboard the Bark *la Belle*, and were now in a Canoe. I ask'd abruptly what was become of the Bark, and was inform'd, our continual Misfortunes still pursuing us, that it had run aground on the other Side of the Bay. I caused the Canoe to be unloaded, there being in it, among other Things, Monsieur *de la Sale*'s Cloaths, Part of his Papers, some Linen, a small Quantity

Monsieur de la Sale sets out upon another Expedition.

What was saved of the Bark la Belle.

¹ *Fr.* "alesnes"—awls.

² Compare p. 2, line 9.

³ The 22d.

May 1686

*How the
Bark was
lost.*

of Beads and thirty or forty Pound of Meal, which was all they had left.

The next Day, *Monsieur de Chedeville* told me the Particulars of that Misfortune, and said, That having been some Time with the Bark, in the Place where *Monsieur de la Sale* had appointed them to wait, their Water falling short, they had thought fit to send the Boat ashore, with four or five Casks to fill; that the *Sieur Planterose* went in it with six of the best Men. That towards the Evening they saw the Boat coming back, but the Wind being contrary and Night coming on, they put out a Light, which going out and the Captain neglecting to put up another, in all Likelihood the Boat could not see the Bark, and they never heard of it after, nor of any of those in it, who it was probable had all perish'd.

That nevertheless, they continued some Days in the same Place, during which Time three or four of their Men died; and at last, having no Water, they eat up their Swine, before they died with Thirst, and resolv'd to weigh Anchor and draw near to the Dwelling; but having few Hands and those spent, and to add to their Misfortune the Wind proving contrary, they were drove to the other Side of the Bay, where they run aground.

That having no Boat, nor Men enough to land their Effects, they had endeavour'd to make a Float with some Casks and Planks, but that being ill made and join'd together, the first that went upon it had perish'd. That having made another Float better fastened together than the first, they had by that Means saved some Sails and Rigging, several inconsiderable Things, Linen, Cloaths and Papers belonging to *Monsieur de la Sale* and others, and then stay'd Ashore, expecting to hear some News, and had found a Canoe, being the same that was before lost on the Edge of the Bay, which had been drove to the other Side; and that Provisions at last beginning to fall short, they went aboard the said Canoe and came to us; fortunate in that they had not been discover'd by the Natives, during their Stay

Ashore, which was for the Space of three Months, and in June 1686 finding the Canoe to bring them back.

When Monsieur *de la Sale* went away, the *Sieur Barbier* had taken upon him to go a hunting, as also to provide Bark to cover our Houses, instead of Hides, because the Sun drying and contracting them, Part of the Top of our Buildings was uncover'd. I farther enjoyn'd him to cut Stakes, to make a Palisade about our Dwelling, and the *Sieur Chedeville* having told me they had bury'd several Things they could not bring away, I sent the *Sieur Barbier* with two Canoes and fifteen Men to the Place, where they found some Pedreroes,¹ Rigging and Sails. The Natives having discover'd the Concealment, had taken away some Pieces of Linen and Iron Tools, which they very much covet.

The *Sieur Barbier* after his Return, continuing his Exercise of hunting, happen'd to meet with a Parcel of the Natives, some of whom had Firelocks, which they had taken from our Men, and with which they made some Shots at him, but very weak; and he firing three or four Shot at them they retir'd. He was then in a Canoe on the River, and design'd to have gone upwards; but that Rancounter having oblig'd him to take another Way, and the Savages perceiving it, eight of them swam over the River, hastening to get before the Canoe, hid themselves among the Weeds, near the Way he was to pass, and when he was near enough, let fly their Arrows, which wounded several Men. One Shot the *Sieur Barbier* made, put them all to Flight again; he held on his Way and return'd to our Habitation.

*Encounter
with the
Natives.*

Some Days after, we perceiv'd a Herd of Bulls flying, and guess'd they were pursu'd by the Savages, which afterwards appear'd to be true. Some of them drew near to our Habitation, but a Cannon Shot, I pointed towards the Gang of them, and a Musket-shot Monsieur *Barbier* fired at the nearest, made them all fly farther off.

¹ Fr. "pierriers"—swivel-guns. C. C. edit.

June 1686

*The Sieur
Barbier
marries.*

When the *Sieur Barbier* went out a Hunting, I commonly sent with him some Women and Maids, to help the Hunters to dress and dry the Flesh; but being inform'd that he us'd to slip aside from the Company, with a young Maid he had a Kindness for, and which gave Occasion to some well-grounded Railleries; the said *Barbier* being told I was acquainted with that Affair, came and spoke to me in private, desiring Leave to marry that young Woman, I made some Difficulty of it at first, advising him to stay till *Monsieur de la Sale* return'd; but at last, considering they might have anticipated upon Matrimony, I took the Advice of the *Recolet Fathers*, and of *Monsieur Chedeville* the Priest, and allowed them to marry. *Monsieur le Marquis de la Sabloniere* following this Example, ask'd the same Liberty, being in Love with a young Maid, which I absolutely refus'd, and forbid them seeing one another.

*Accidents
concerning
the Reco-
lets.*

Some Time pass'd in which Nothing happen'd to us worth observing; however, I will mention two Things which befell our *Recolet Fathers*. One was, That Father *Anastasius*, being a hunting Bullocks with me, and coming too near one I had shot, and was fallen, the Beast, as much hurt as he was, started up, attack'd and threw him down; he had much ado to get off, and I to rescue him, because I durst not shoot for Fear of killing him. The Bullock being weak, fell again; the Father was deliver'd, but lay ill some Months. The other was, That Father *Maximus* had writ some Memoirs concerning *Monsieur de la Sale's* Conduct, condemning him upon several Occasions. I was told of it, found Means to get those Memoirs, threw them into the Fire, and so the Father came off.

*Duhaut
Endeavours
to occasion
a Mutiny.*

About the same Time, most of our Men seeing *Monsieur de la Sale* did not return, began to mutter. The *Sieur Duhaut*, who perhaps had been the first Fomenter of those Discontents, back'd the Complaints of the disgusted Party, promis'd them great Matters under his Conduct, and offer'd to supply them with such Effects as he had in Possession, endeavouring, as I suppose, by those Means, to

gain their Affections, for a mischievous Design, which it is likely he had even then conceiv'd. June 1686

It was not long before, I had Intimation of the whole Affair, and I had done Monsieur *de la Sale* a singular Piece of Service, had I then put to Death the Person, who was to be his Murderer; but I rested satisfy'd with giving him a severe Reprimand, and threat'ning to cause him to be secur'd if he persisted, being able to do no other under my present Circumstances. However, I talk'd to all concern'd, and put them in such Hopes of Monsieur *de la Sale's* Return, and that Things would soon change to their Satisfaction, that they were all pacify'd.

But in Regard, that Idleness often occasions Uneasiness and Impatience, I us'd all possible Means to keep them employ'd, in the most obliging Manner I could, setting some to cut down the Bushes about our Dwelling, others to hew down Trees, that hinder'd the Prospect, others mow'd the Grass, that fresh might grow up for our Cattle, and at Night I made them divert themselves with Dancing and Singing.

Whilst we thus pass'd away the Time the best we could, Monsieur *de la Sale* had penetrated very far up into the Country, inclining towards the Northern Part of *Mexico*. He had travell'd through several Nations, the Inhabitants whereof were, for the most Part, sociable, and had concluded a Sort of Alliance with them, and particularly with the *Cenis* and others whose names I shall mention. He had discover'd charming Countries abounding in all Things that could be wish'd, as well for Sustenance, as for making of easy Settlements, and after he and his Nephew *Moranget* had escap'd two Dangerous Sicknesses, he return'd to our Habitation, with five Horses he had purchas'd, and arriv'd at it in *August* 1686.

M. de la
Sale's Dis-
coveries.

Hearing of his Voice, I was one of the first that ran towards the River: We took our Canoes to bring him, his Luggage and some Provisions over, and the Horses swam. We were extraordinary glad to see our Commander in His Return.

Sept. 1686

Chief return safe, tho' his Journey had not advanc'd his Design. Monsieur *de la Sale* had not found out his River, nor been towards the *Islinois* as we had hoped. Only eight Men return'd with him of twenty he carry'd out, and all the visible advantage of that Journey consisted in five Horses, laden with Indian Wheat, Beans and some other Grain, which was put into the Store.

7 Men lost
and 4 de-
sert.

Monsr. *de la Sale* ask'd me, as soon as he came, whether the Sieurs *Clerc*, *Huric*, *Duhaut* the younger and two others were come, because they not being able to endure the Fatigue of the Journey, he had given them Leave to return, and hearing they were not, he concluded the Savages had killed them. We were also inform'd, that the *Sieur Bihorel*, had stray'd and was lost, so that there had been no News of him since; that one of Monsr. *de la Sale's* Servants had been dragg'd down to the Bottom of the Water and devour'd by an Alligator, and that four others had deserted and abandon'd Monsieur *de la Sale*, when he was about the Country of the *Cenis*.

M. de la
Sale re-
solves upon
a third Ex-
pedition.

This was a very dismal and deplorable Account; but the even Temper of our Chief made all Men easy, and he found, by his great Vivacity of Spirit, Expedients, which reviv'd the lowest Ebb of Hope. He rejoiced at the Return and Sight of M. *Chedeville*, he was pleas'd at the Recovering of his Cloaths and Part of his Papers; and after some Time of Rest, he propos'd to undertake a Journey towards the *Islinois*, and to make it the main Business, by the Way, to find the *Missisipi*; but it was thought proper to let the great Heats pass, before that Enterprize was taken in Hand.

In the mean Time, he gave Orders to stake about a Place to make a New Magazine, or Storehouse. He put to that Use the Timber I had caus'd to be cut, and would have more provided for the same Use. Detachments being sent to work, seven or eight of our Men, who were sent with the *Sieur Barbier*, were discover'd by the Savages, who being superior in Number, made as if they would hem

them in; but each of our Men having taken a Tree upon their Shoulders and fir'd their Pieces, which made one of the Natives drop, the others took him up and withdrew. Yet it was not long before they were reveng'd, for they kill'd us two Men, one of them close by our Dwelling, and the other, who had separated from the rest of the Company to gather Purslain, and could not be reliev'd.

Oct. 1686

Two Men
kill'd.

There being every Day some Discourse of the Journey to the *Islinois*, Monsieur *de la Sale* ask'd me one Day, whether I would make one of the Company, and go by the Way of *Canada* to *France* for Succours. I assured him I was entirely devoted to his Will, and would faithfully attend him. Then he began by Degrees to provide what he thought necessary for that Expedition. I had two Pair of Sheets, which he took, to make him Linen. Canvas Cloaths were made of the Sails of the Bark *la Belle*. The *Sieur Duhaut* having Linen, he took some to distribute among several Persons. Thus he hastened on the Expedition of his Design, but an Accident put it off.

It was occasion'd by a Flux which troubled Monsieur *de la Sale*, who having told me he could not perform that Journey, as long as he continued in such condition, I offer'd to undertake it for him, if he would allow me his *Indian*, and about fifteen Men; but he answer'd, That his Presence was requisite among the *Islinois*, and that it was requisite his Brother should go to *France*. Thus he refus'd my Offer, and could not shun the ill Fate of that Journey.

Nov. 1686

We spent some Time longer after this Manner, during the which, there arose a Controversy about the Privileges the King grants to the First-born of the *French Colonies* in *America*. The *Sieur Barbier's* wife was with Child, and he claim'd the Privilege granted for that Child. The *Widow Talon* had a Child born in the Passage from *France* to *America*, and alledg'd, that her Child, tho' born before our Arrival, ought to be preferr'd; but the *Sieur Barbier's* Wife miscarrying, the Dispute was not decided.

Dec. 1686

Controversy
about
Privilege.

Jan. 1687

Monsieur de la Sale being recover'd of his Indisposition, Preparations were again made for his Journey; but we first kept the *Christmas Holy-Days*. The *Midnight Mass* was solemnly sung, and on *Twelve-Day*, we cry'd, *The King drinks*, (according to the Custom of France) tho' we had only Water: When that was over we began to think of setting out. *Monsieur de la Sale* gave the Command of the Settlement to the *Sieur Barbier*, directing him what he was to do and observe in his Absence.

Who were left in the Settlement when M. de la Sale departed.

There remain'd in that Habitation, the Fathers *Maximus* and *Zenobius*, *Recolets*, *Monsieur Chedeville*, the Priest, the *Marquis de la Sablonniere*, the *Sieur Barbier*, Commander, his Wife, a Surgeon and others, to the Number of twenty, among whom were seven Women, or Maids, and only the *Sieur Barbier* marry'd; which is much short of the Number some have given out remain'd in the Dwelling, without any Ground; for the Truth is, there were no more, and particularly no Natives, *Monsieur de la Sale* having absolutely forbid holding any Communication with them. As for Beasts, they amounted to seventy, or seventy five Swine, great and small, which was a good Stock; for Fowl, eighteen or twenty Hens; some Casks of Meal, which was kept for the Sick; Powder, Ball, and eight Pieces of Cannon, without any Bullets.

Persons that set out with M. de la Sale.

We set out the 12th of *January*, in the Year 1687, being seventeen in Number, *viz.* *Monsieur de la Sale*, *Monsieur Cavalier*, the Priest, his Brother, Father *Anastasius*, the *Recolet*, *Messieurs Moranget* and *Cavelier*, Nephews to *Monsieur de la Sale*, the *Sieurs Duhaut*, the Elder, *l'Archeveque*,¹ *Hiens*, *Liotot*, Surgeon, young *Talon*, an *Indian*, and a Footman belonging to *Monsieur de la Sale*. We carried along with us Part of the best Things every Man had, and what was thought would be of Use, wherewith the five Horses were loaded, and we took our Leaves with so much Tenderness and Sorrow, as if we had all presaged,

¹ Should be *Archevêque*.

that we should never see each other more. Father *Zeno-* Jan. 1687
bius was the Person who express'd it to me most signifi-
 cantly, saying, He had never been so sensibly touch'd at
 parting with any Body.

We went that Day to the Place we call'd *le Boucon*, be- *The Way*
they
travell'd.
 cause there, we had often dry'd Flesh, (*which the French*
call Boucanner from the Indian Word) This Place was
 not far from our Habitation. The 13th, we cross'd a
 Plain, about two Leagues over, where we saw several
 Herds of Beeves and Flocks of Goats, Turkeys, Bustards,
 and other Sorts of Wild Fowl. We met with Marshy
 Lands, which tired our Horses, and came to a Wood that
 terminates the Plain, across which, runs a Branch of a
 River, full of Reeds, by Monsieur *de la Sale* call'd the
Princess's River. That Branch joins the other, and they
 both fell together into the Bay of *St. Lewis*.

We kill'd five Beeves at the Entrance into the Wood,
 forded the River, and incamp'd Half a League beyond it,
 whence Monsieur *de la Sale* sent Men with Horses, to
 bring the Flesh of the Bullocks we had kill'd; the Hides
 of them, which serv'd to cover us, being very useful against
 a violent Shower of Rain that fell.

The 14th, the Rain ceasing, we travell'd over another
 spacious Plain, where there is a Multitude of Beeves and
 Wild Fowl. We saw several Tracks, leading every Way,
 made by the Bullocks, of which we saw several Herds,
 some moving on hastily, and others running out-right,
 which made us suppose they were drove by the Natives.
 In short, having halted to help up one of our Horses that
 was fallen, we saw an *Indian* following them very close.
 Monsieur *de la Sale* caus'd a Horse to be immediately un-
 loaded, which a Man mounting, rode after, overtook and
 brought the *Indian*.

When the Savage saw himself among us, he concluded
 he was a lost Man, he quak'd for Fear, and not without
 Reason, for most of our Men had resolv'd to kill him;
 Monsieur *de la Sale* oppos'd it, alledging, that we were but

Jan. 1687

a small Number, that very few were left behind at the Habitation, and therefore we ought not to render our selves odious to the Natives, but to use them kindly, that we might have Peace; an infallible Maxim, the Practice of which might have been fortunate to him, had he follow'd it sooner.

He therefore caus'd a Fire to be made, gave him to Eat and Smoke, and afterwards a Bit of Roll-Tabacco, and some other Trifles. *Monsieur de la Sale* gave him to understand, that he came not to hurt any Man, but to settle Peace in all Places, and so dismissed him. The *Indian* recover'd himself a little of his Fright; but being still dubious, what his Fate might be, he at first walk'd away gently, still looking about him, and when at a good Distance, made off as fast as he could. We held on our Way, and soon after saw another *Indian* running after the Bullocks. *Monsieur de la Sale* caus'd him to be taken, brought to us, and treated as the first had been.

We had not gone far before we spy'd a Company of Natives coming towards us, on our left, but we held on our Way, till they were over against us, when *Monsieur de la Sale* caus'd us to halt. The Savages seeing us halt, stood still also, which *Monsieur de la Sale* perceiving, he laid his Firelock on the Ground, and advanc'd towards them, making signs to him that Commanded them, who was a handsome Man, to draw near. That *Indian* came forward, and was follow'd by the rest, all of them Caressing us after their Manner, which we return'd the best we were able, and then made them Smoak.

Natives entertained.

Next *Monsieur de la Sale* gave them to understand, that we were going towards the *Cenis*, that we desir'd to be at Peace with them all, and that we would return to our own Country, whence we would bring them all they had Occasion for. Then we distributed among them some Bits of Roll-Tabacco, some Strings of Beads and Knives, which they seem'd to be pleas'd with, and all this was done by Signs. Then every Man went his own Way: We ad-

vanc'd half a League farther, to get into a Wood, where *Jan. 1687*
 Monsieur *de la Sale* had encamp'd when he went that Way
 before; we cut down Trees to secure our Post, and lay
 there that Night.

Before our Intrenchment was finish'd, we discover'd,
 first one *Indian*, then two, and afterwards three, coming
 one after another; which giving Monsieur *de la Sale* some
 Jealousy, he caus'd us to handle our Arms, with Orders to
 stand upon our Guard, for fear of being surpriz'd, and
 went towards them. They signify'd to him, that their
 People had told them, we did not hurt any Body, which
 was very well, and that they were come to see us. They
 were entertain'd as the others had been, and then Signs
 were made them to withdraw, because Night drew on, and
 having observ'd, that they took Notice of our fortifying
 our selves, we kept a good Guard all the Night, without
 any Disturbance.

The Fifteenth, we march'd on, intending to find out a
 Ford, in the River call'd of the *Princess*, where Monsieur
de la Sale had pass'd before; but missing of it, and the
 River being swollen, we were oblig'd to go up higher,
 sometimes crossing curious¹ Meadows, and sometimes
 Woods of tall Trees² of several Sorts, but all Young of
 the same Thickness and strait, looking as if they had been
 planted by a Line. The River running through the midst
 of those curious shady Groves,³ which were also water'd by
 several little Brooks of very clear and good Water, afforded
 a most delightful Landskip.

*A fine
Country.*

We also met with some Woods so thich, that it was
 requisite to hew a Passage for the Horses. Towards the
 Evening we kill'd a Bullock, and went to incamp in a little
 Coppice, with our usual Precautions.

*Thick
Woods.*

The 16th, we continued our Journey, still following the
 River upwards, and from Time to Time meeting the same

¹ *Fr.* "belles prairies" — meaning, in this case, fine or beautiful.

² *Fr.* "belles fûtayes."

³ *Fr.* "beaux ombrages."

Jan. 1687

Sort of Pasture Grounds¹ and the Obstacles of Woods, where we were fain to cut our Way through, which fatigued us very much; but the Plenty of wild Fowl, and particularly of Turkeys, whereof we killed many, was an Ease to our Sufferings, and Help to bear our Toil with more Satisfaction.

Wild Fowl.

An Indian Village abandon'd.

The 17th, was a very toilsome Day's Journey, by Reason of the Woods and Rivulets we were to cross; after which we came to a little Hill, on which there were 2 or 300 Cottages of the Natives. Those Huts were like large Ovens, consisting of long Poles stuck in the Earth in a Circle, and joyning above to make the Dome or round Top.² They had been a Dwelling of the Natives, who being gone, had carry'd away the Hides that cover'd them, and the Mats which are us'd to hang the Insides, and to make their beds of.

After a March of some Hours, our *Indian* having found a Herd of Beeves, we kill'd seven or eight, took the best of the Meat, and held on our Way across a Wood. We ford'd a Branch of the River, and proceeded to the Bank of another, the Bottom whereof being foul, we incamp'd on the Edge of it, and the Rain falling at Night and continuing all the next Day, were oblig'd to stay there.

The 19th, the Rain ceasing, we proceeded through a thick Fog, and over Places where the Water was often up to our Knees, and sometimes higher; which, together with our being forc'd to cut the Way athwart the Bushes, with our Hatchets, gave us inexpressible Trouble, and it had been much greater, had we not resolv'd to follow the Ways beaten by the Bullocks, whom a natural Instinct always leads to those Parts which are easiest to pass.

Buskins of raw Hides instead of Shoes.

We were not free from another Inconveniency in those Tracks, which was their being full of Water and very rugged, a Thing no Way agreeable to our Shoes, which were no other than a Piece of Bullocks Hide or Goats Skin

¹ *Fr.* "les mêmes paisages."

² *Fr.* "dôme."

quite green, whereof we made a sort of Buskins, to serve Jan. 1687
 instead of Shoes, but when those wretch'd Boots were
 dry'd by the Heat, upon our Feet, they hurt us very much,
 and we were often oblig'd to set our Feet in the Water to
 soften those Buskins. However, we march'd all the Day,
 notwithstanding all those Inconveniences, without finding
 a proper Place to incamp, and at last came to a River,
 whose high Bank afforded us a Spot to rest on.

The 20th, a small Rain did not obstruct our March, and
 having cross'd a Wood, half a League athwart, and a
 Marsh of the same Extent, we came into a large Plain,
 cut across by great Tracks of Bullocks, which went to-
 wards the River, and made us suppose there might be a
 Ford. We follow'd that Way, but found the River so
 swollen, and its Stream so rapid, that it was impossible to
 cross it, but were oblig'd to halt upon its Bank, whence we
 went to hunt Bullocks, whereof we had no want, nor of
 Turkeys and other wild Fowl.

The 21th, we proceeded up that River, and found a nar-
 row deep Place, near which we hew'd down a Tree, mak-
 ing it fall so as to reach from the one Bank to the other,
 in the Nature of a Plank, and handed our Baggage from one
 to another over it. The Horses swam over and we in-
 camp'd on the other Side, near a very beautiful Plain.

Whilst we were hewing down some little Wood to in-
 trench ourselves, we heard a Voice, whereupon handling
 our Arms and going to the Place where we heard it, we
 saw a Company of fifteen Savages, who were coming to-
 wards us, and made Signs to us to go to them, laying down
 their Bows, in Token of Peace. We also made our Sign
 to them to draw near, they did so and caress'd us after
 their Manner. We made them sit down and smoke, after
 which, Monsr. *de la Sale* began to converse with them by
 Signs, and by Help of some Words of the Language of
 the *Cemis*, which he was skilful in, he understood, that
 these were their Neighbours and Allies; that their Village
 was not far off, and that their Nation was call'd *Heba-*

Hebahamo,
 Indian
 Nation.

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hamo. Some small Presents were given them, and they withdrew, promising to return the next Day.

The 22th, our Horses being spent and hurt, and we much tir'd, the Day was given to Rest, and the Natives did not fail to come, being twenty five in Number, some of whom had Bucklers or Targets made of the strongest Part of the Bullocks Hides. They gave us to understand, that they were ingag'd in War towards the *NW*. and told us, they had seen Men like us, who were but ten Days Journey from that Place. Other Tokens they gave, made us suppose it was *New Spain* that they talk'd of.

Monsr. *de la Sale* took several Words of their Language, which is very different from that of the *Cenis*, and more difficult. As for their Customs, they are much alike. In fine, having shewn us, that towards the *N. W.* we should meet with Plains, where the Way would be easier, and we should shun the Woods, we gave them to eat, and some Presents, and they took Leave of us. A Rain falling and holding all the Night, we did not march the 24th. The 25th, we travell'd not far, by Reason of the Rains continuing, and that there were several Rivers in the Way much swollen.

The 16th, we proceeded on our Journey, and came to the River call'd *la Sabloniere*, from the many Sand Banks there are in it. The 27th,¹ departing from it, we came to another little narrow River, but very deep; going up higher we found a Ford, and went to incamp beyond it, in a little Wood, where we had a very bad Night, because of the Rain which fell again, and the overflowing of the River, which oblig'd us to make a little Sort of Scaffold, to lay our Powder and Cloaths on, that they might not be wet. The next Day being the 28th,² observing that the Water was still rising, we decamp'd to go a League farther, to a

¹ *Fr.* "26th."

² *Fr.* "le lendemain 27." [The original appears to be wrong, and the correction extends to the three following dates.] M. B. A.

higher Ground, where we made a great Fire to warm and *Feb. 1687*
dry us.

We took Notice the Country was very good, the Plains extending as far as the Eye could reach, and adorn'd with many little Coppices, affording a very agreeable Prospect. We march'd over Part of them the 29th and 30th, after 3 Hours Travel, found a Way full of Water, which oblig'd us to incamp on the Bank of a River; pass'd it the 31th, and incamp'd in a Wood close by.

The next Day, being the First of *February* 1687, Monsieur *de la Sale* left me to guard the Camp, and took along *Village inhabited.* with him, Monsieur *Cavelier* his Brother and seven Men, to go see whether he could find any Body in several Cottages our Hunters had discover'd. He found twenty four or twenty five of them, built round like those I have before mention'd, standing on a rising Ground, almost encompass'd by the River, in each of which there were four or five Men, and several Women and Children.

The Savages were somewhat surpriz'd at Monsieur *de la Sale's* coming; however they receiv'd him in friendly Manner, and conducted him to their Commander's Hut, which was immediately fill'd with People, who came to see him. The Elders came together there, Bullocks Hides were laid upon the Ground, on which they made Monsieur *de la Sale* and his Company sit. They gave them hung Beef to eat, and then signify'd to them that some of their Allies had given them Notice of our being in the Country, and that we were going to the *Cenis*, and they had imagin'd that we would pass thro' their Country.

Monsieur *de la Sale* present'd them with some Knives and Bits of Tabacco, and they gave him Bullocks Hides, very well dress'd with the Hair, they gave one for a Knife, and would have given many more, but that we told to them, that we had no Conveniency to carry them and that if they had any Horses, he would give them Axes in Exchange. They answer'd, they had but two, which they

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could not part with. It being late when Monsieur *de la Sale* return'd, we staid there the rest of the Day, and several *Indians* came to see us, in Hopes of receiving some Present, offering us *Bullocks Hides* dressed, which we would not burden our selves with.

The Second, we set out again, and halted some Time in that Village, where by the Way we barter'd for some Collars, or a Sort of Knots¹ made of *Bullocks Hides* well dress'd, which the Natives make Use of to carry their Burdens, whether of Wood, Utensils, or the Meat they kill. They prov'd of Use both to us and our Horses, because the Thongs of those Collars serv'd to make fast our Burdens.

la Maligne
River.

We proceeded on our Journey, through a Country pleasant enough, but Sandy, and having cross'd a large Plain, came to the Bank of a fine River, call'd *la Maligne*, or the Mischievous, because in Monsieur *de la Sale's* former Journey, an Alligator devour'd one of his Servants, who was swimming over it. This River is as wide as the *Seine* at *Roan*, seems to be very navigable and has a very pleasant Country about it. We incamp'd in a little Wood adjoining to it, and bark'd the *Aspen Trees* to hut.

Indian
Rats.

Our Hunters kill'd *Beeves*, wild *Goats*, *Turkeys* and other *Wild-Fowl*, and among the rest some Creatures as big as an indifferent *Cat*, very like a *Rat*, having a Bag under their Throat, in which they carry their Young. They feed upon *Nuts* and *Acorns*, are very fat, and their Flesh is much like *Pig*.

Hard by there, we found a Place where Monsieur *de la Sale*, in his former Journey had hid some *Parcels* of *Strings of Beads* in the *Trunks of Trees*, and we rested there till the Eighth of the Month. During that Time, no Day pass'd without seeing some of the Natives, who sometimes spent the whole Day with us, and said they were of several Nations. We made them smoke, and always gave

¹ *Fr.* "bretelles"— carriers' or porters' knots.

them some small Presents. They admir'd that after we had writ down some Words they spoke to us, we repeated them, looking on the Paper. Feb. 1687

Whilst we staid, Monsieur *de la Sale* set Men at Work to make a portable Canoe, of long Poles, hew'd and joyn'd and then cover'd with Bullocks Hides sew'd together, having pull'd off the Hair or Wooll, as it may be call'd there. That Canoe was of great Use to us, to cross Rivers as well for our selves as for our Baggage, but the Horses swam over. Portable
Canoe.

The Ninth, we put our Canoe into the Water, and pass'd the River in it, and incamp'd half a League from thence, on Account of the Grass, which our Horses stood in Need of to recover themselves a little. The Tenth, we held on our Journey, crossing several spacious Plains, the Grass whereof was burnt, whence Monsieur *de la Sale* concluded, that there were many Natives thereabouts. He thought it convenient to provide Store of dry'd Flesh, for Fear we should not find Game in the Country we were going to enter upon, and accordingly caused several Beeves to be kill'd for that Purpose.

For that Reason, we continued there till the 12th, when we went and incamped on the Bank of a River, which Monsieur *de la Sale* had in his former Journey call'd *d'Eure*. At Night there arose a storm, follow'd by Thunder and Rain, which swell'd the Streams, and obliged us to stay there. The 13th and 14th we cross'd four or five large Rivulets, and then a fine curious Country,¹ diversify'd with several little Woods, Hills and small Brooks, affording a delightful Prospect. That pleasant Country was terminated by a Wood, which we were to cross, and were favour'd in it by a Way beaten by the Bullocks, and at Night we incamped there.

The 15th, we travel'd along a fine Meadow, then over

¹ *Fr.* "fort beau paysage"—*i. e.* pleasant.

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Plains that had been burnt, and at Night went to take our Rest on the Bank of a small Rivulet, about which we saw several Footsteps of Natives, which made us conclude we were not far from them; and therefore we doubled our Guard, to prevent being surpriz'd.

A Village.

The 16th, Monsieur *de la Sale* left me at the Guard of the Camp, and took Monsieur *Cavelier* his Brother, and seven Men with him, to go find out the *Indians*. They had not gone half a League before they spied Horses and a Number of Cottages, without being themselves seen by the Savages. That Village stood on the Side of a Hill, and contain'd about forty Huts, standing together, besides several others stragglings.

Monsieur de la Sale well receiv'd by the Natives.

When Monsieur *de la Sale* enter'd the Village, the Savages seeing him, came to meet and conduct him to the Cottage of their Chief, where he and his Company were seated on Bullocks Hides. The Elders being come, he signify'd to them the Occasion of his Coming, as he had done to the other Nations, with which they seem'd to rest satisfy'd. Some Presents were made them, according to Custom, and they offer'd him a Quantity of Hides, which he refus'd, telling them, that when he return'd from the *Cenis* he would trade with, and furnish them with all they had Occasion for. They confirm'd what the others had told us, concerning a Nation, where some of them had been, the Men whereof were like us, meaning the *Spaniards*. He nam'd to them the Nations we had pass'd through from our Dwelling of *St. Lewis*, to the River *Maligne*, which we had lately pass'd. The Names of those Nations are as follows.

Names of Nations or Tribes.

The *Spicheats*, *Kabayes*, *Thecamons*, *Theauremets*, *Kiahoba*, *Choumenes*, *Kouans*, *Arhan*, *Enepiahe*, *Ahonerhopiheim*, *Korenkake*, *Korkone*, *Omcaosse*, *Keremen*, *Ahehoen*, *Maghai*, *Thecamenes*, *Otenmarhem*, *Kavagan* and *Mera-couman*. These are the Nations that lay on our Road; those on the West and North West of the said River were the *Kannehonan*, *Tohaka*, *Pchir*, *Coyabegux*, *Onapien*,

Pichar, Tohan, Kiasses, Chanzas, Tsera, Bocrettes, Tsepe- Feb. 1687
hoen, Fercouteha, Panego, Petao, Petzares, Peisacho, Pei-
*houm and Orcampion.*¹

Those we were with then, were call'd *Teao*, whom we had not before hear'd nam'd. They talk'd of a great Nation call'd *Ayona* and *Canohatino*, who were at War with the *Spaniards*, from whom they stole Horses, and told us, that one hundred *Spaniards* were to have come to join the *Cenis*, to carry on that War, but that having heard of our March, they went back. Monsieur *de la Sale* gave them to understand, that we were at War with the *Spaniards*, and that we fear'd them not; and that he was sent on their Account by the great captain of the World, who had charg'd him to do them all Good, and to assist them in their Wars against such Nations as were their Enemies.

Those Savages gave Monsieur *de la Sale* Notice, that he would find three of our Men among the *Cenis*, which put him in Hopes they were those he had given Leave to depart at his former Journey, and of whom he had never since heard. He propos'd to them to barter for Horses; but they had caus'd them to be convey'd out of the Way, for Fear we should take them away, excepting only one Bay, which Monsieur *de la Sale* agreed for and return'd to us.

¹ *Kiahoba,*
Choumenes,
Arhan,
Enepiahe,
Ahonerhopiheim,
Korenkake,
Korkone,
Maghai,
Thecamanes,
Kavagan,
Kannehonan,
Tohaka,
Chanzas,
Orcampion,
Ayona,
Canohatino,

Fr. Kiäboha
 “ *Chaumenés.*
 “ *Arhan*
 “ *Enepiahe*
 “ *Ahouerhopiheim*
 “ *Koienkahé*
 “ *Konkone*
 “ *Meghai*
 “ *Tecamenes*
 “ *Kavagan*
 “ *Kannehoüan*
 “ *Tohaha*
 “ *Chancre*
 “ *Orcampieou*
 “ *Ayano*
 “ *Canohatinno*

Compare the notes to p. 107, l. 34, and pp. 114, 115.—C. C. edit.

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The 17th, we pass'd a small River, with some Difficulty, and incamp'd beyond it. The 18th, one of our Horses going along the Edge of an upright Bank, fell into the Water, and came off with only a Hurt on the Shoulder; but we were fain to unload him, and distribute his Burden among us, every one making a Pack; and thus we cross'd a curious Plain,¹ diversify'd with Woods, Hills, Rivulets, and delightful Meadows.

The 19th, we travell'd along the Tops of those Hills, to avoid the Bottoms, and found a Difficulty to get down, by reason of the Rocks we met with at the End of them, and a River we were to cross. Whilst we were passing that River, we heard Dogs hunting the Bullocks, two of which coming near us, one of them was shot dead. The Natives who were hunting spying us, sent out two of their Number, who creeping from Tree to Tree, drew near, and then stood still, without daring to proceed any farther. We made Signs to them to come, which they did, and we made them smoke, till Monsieur *de la Sale* return'd, being gone a little Way to observe the Body of those People.

When come, he told them, he would entertain Peace with them, that we were going to the *Cenis*, and he believ'd, that these very Men were of their Nation, because they had their Accent and some of their Words. They told him their Village was near that Place, and bore us Company to our Camp, where after some small Presents given them, they were dismiss'd.

*Account
given by a
Native.*

The 20th, Monsieur *de la Sale* sent Monsieur *Moranget* and some others to the Village of those Natives, to try whether they could barter with them for some Horses. In the mean Time two Savages came to us, one of them being the same that was with us the Night before, and they express'd much Friendship for us. That particular *Indian* told us, his name was *Palachechaune*, that they were Allies to the *Cenis*, that their Chief had been among the *Choumans*,

¹ *Fr.* "belle campagne."

with the *Spaniards*; that the *Choumans* were Friends to the *Spaniards*, from whom they got Horses, and added some farther Particulars, which the others had before signify'd to us; so that we had good Reason to judge we were not far from *North Mexico*. Feb. 1687

He also told us, that the *Choumans* had given their Chief some Presents, to perswade him to conduct us to them; that most of the said Nation had flat Heads; that they had *Indian Corn*, which gave Monsieur *de la Sale* Ground to believe, that those People were some of the same he had seen upon his first Discovery. That same Native had a very fine Goat's Skin, which I purchas'd of him for four Needles, after I had shewn him how to use them, and that Skin was of good Use to make us Shoes instead of raw *Bullocks Hides*.

Some Time after, Monsieur *Moranget* return'd, gave Monsieur *de la Sale* an Account of his short Journey, and said, That one of the Natives, who saw us the Night before, came to meet and conduct him to the Chief's Cottage, where forty Ancient¹ *Indians* were, by whom he had been kindly receiv'd. That the Chief had in his Hand a Reed, at the end whereof was made fast a Leaf of a *French Book*, which he had an extraordinary Respect for. That they had been made to sit on *Bullocks Hides*, and treated with dry'd Beef. M. Moranget's Account.

That after these first Ceremonies, the Chief had given them to understand, that some of their People had been conducted by a Man like us, to our Habitation, and that the said Man had promis'd to bring them to talk with us, in order to treat of Peace; but that on the Contrary, we had fired on them and kill'd one of their Men, which had oblig'd them to kill the Man that led them, and that then they return'd. It is not improper here to put the Reader in Mind, that I have before mention'd this Accident, when the *Sieur Barbier* crossing the River in a Canoe, was call'd upon by some Person, who was among the Natives on the

¹ *Fr.* "quarante anciens Sauvages"—forty old Indians. [Later, the translator uses the proper word "Elders."] *C. C. edit.*

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Bank of the River, who had made two Shots, as it had been only the Priming of a Piece, which the Sieur *Barbier* had look'd upon as an Insult, and therefore he had also fir'd, with all the other Particulars, as mention'd before; an Accident that happen'd for want of understanding one another; which, together with Monsr. *de la Sale's* forbidding us to have any Communication with the Natives, was very prejudicial to us afterwards.

After much other Discourse, Monsieur *Moranget* having given them some small Presents, they made their return in Bullocks Hides, and Goat Skins well dress'd. He ask'd them for some Horses to barter; they answer'd, they had no more than what they stood in Need of. We immediately proceeded on our Journey, and that day being the 21st, went to incamp at the Edge of a Wood.

The 22d, we went up to an Eminence terminated by a Rock, at the Foot whereof ran a little River, the bottom whereof was all of flat Rocks, fit for Building.¹ Thence we descri'd two Natives driving of Bullocks, which made us stand upon our Guard, and it appear'd to be our *Indian*, who had met another, with whom he had been acquainted among the *Cenis*, and whom he had brought along with him.

Three lost
French
Men heard
of.

Monsieur *de la Sale* was very glad to see him, and remember'd he was one of those of whom he had purchas'd a Horse. He ask'd several Questions of him, and among the rest, whether he had not seen the four Men who deserted in his former Journey, or heard any Talk of the others, to whom he had given Leave to return to our Dwelling. He answer'd, he had seen one among the *Cenis*, and two others among the *Assonis*; but that he had not heard of any more, and that they must needs be dead; as also the Sieur *Bihorel*, who was likewise mention'd to him.

He further told us, that there were four or five Cottages thereabouts, in which about Fifteen Men resided. At Night

¹The Eng. translator here omits the words in the *Fr.* original "& to make lime" ("& à fair de la chaux").

he went away. Our *Indian* had kill'd a Cow at a great Feb. 1687 Distance and shot her quite through, at which the other, who had been an Eye Witness to it, stood a long Time amaz'd, without speaking one Word, admiring the Effect of our Pieces. That Cow was sent for, and the Flesh brought to our Camp.

The 23d, we pass'd by the Cottages we had been told of, where the Natives were with their Wives and Children. Monsr. *de la Sale* caus'd us to halt in the Village. We were well receiv'd, they presented us with dry'd Beef, and we return'd it in some Knives. We saw two Horses, one of them a little grey, indifferent handsome. They told us they would soon depart that Place, to go join their Companions, who were in War with their Enemies. The rest of our Men being come up, we went on to incamp a League from thence, on the Bank of a Rivulet, and at the Foot of one of the highest Mountains in the Country.

Unloading our Horses, we perceiv'd there wanted a large Axe, which serv'd us for hewing down of Trees. Monsieur *de la Sale* sent his *Indian* to demand it, at the Village we came from last, the Savages said they had not seen it, and it was lost. He brought back Word, that the Savages had told him, that if we would stay for them, they would go along with, and shew us the Way.

However, we went on the 24th, and incamp'd on the Edge of a Marsh. The 25th, the Rain hinder'd us from Marching. The 26th, Monsieur *de la Sale* perceiving how difficult and dangerous it was to cross that Marsh, sent his *Indian* to the others, to know whether they really design'd to go with us. They answer'd, we must return thither to join them. The 27th. we decamp'd, in order to it; but took another Way to go meet the *Indians*. The 28th. we saw them marching at a Distance. One of them was detach'd to come tell us, that he would shew us the Way to cross the Marsh, and we went on and incamp'd at the Foot of the high Mountain I have spoken of.

The first of *March*, we join'd the *Indians*, on the Edge of

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the Marsh, which we had just cross'd, where the Rains kept us till the Fifth, during which Time we went to find out where we might pass a rapid Torrent, that discharges it self into the River call'd of *Canoes*, which we pass'd the 6th, in the Canoe we had made, and which did us good Service, to pass other Rivers we met with the 7th and the 8th on our Way.

*River of
Canoes.*

The 9th, we did not stir, because of the Rain. The 10th, incamp'd on the Bank of a small River, which we cross'd the 11th, and the same Day another River, and incamp'd on the Bank of it, and found it adorn'd with very fine Mulberry Trees. The 12th we cross'd another River, and incamp'd near it. The 13th, came again to the River of *Canoes*, so called by Monsieur *de la Sale*, because he the first Time put Canoes into it, at his former Journey. We pass'd it the 14th, and incamp'd on the other Side where we again join'd the *Indians*.

*Provisions
hid, spoilt.*

The 15th, we held on our Journey with them, and found a pleasanter Country than that we had pass'd thro'; and Monsieur *de la Sale* having in his former Journey hid some Indian Wheat and Beans, two or three Leagues from that Place, and our Provisions beginning to fall short, it was thought fit to go to that Place. Accordingly he order'd the Sieurs *Duhaut*, *Hicns*, *Liotot* the Surgeon, his own *Indian*, and his Footman, whose Name was *Saget*, who were followed by some Natives, to go to the Place he described to them, where they found all rotten and quite spoilt.

The 16, in their Return, they met with two Bullocks, which Monsieur *de la Sale*'s *Indian* kill'd, whereupon they sent back his Footman, to give him Notice of what they had kill'd, that if he would have the Flesh dry'd, he might send Horses for it. The 17th, Monsieur *de la Sale* had the Horses taken up, and order'd the Sieurs *Moranget* and *de Malre* and his Footman, to go for that Meat, and send back a Horse Load immediately, till the rest was dry'd.

Monsieur *Moranget*, when he came thither, found they had smok'd both the Beeves, tho' they were not dry

enough; and the said Sieurs *Liotot*, *Hiens*, *Duhaut* and the rest had laid aside the Marrow-Bones and others to roast them, and eat the flesh that remain'd on them, as was usual to do. The Sieur *Moranget* found fault with it, he in a Passion seiz'd not only the Flesh that was smook'd and dry'd, but also the Bones, without giving them any Thing; but on the contrary, threatenng they should not eat so much of it, as they had imagin'd, and that he would manage that Flesh after another Manner.

This passionate Behaviour, so much out of Season, and contrary to Reason and Custom, touch'd the Surgeon *Liotot*, *Heins* and *Duhaut* to the Quick, they having other Causes of Complaint against *Moranget*. They withdrew, and resolv'd together upon a bloody Revenge; they agreed upon the Manner of it, and concluded they would murder the Sieur *Moranget*, Monsieur *de la Sale*'s Footman and his *Indian*, because he was very faithful to him.

They waited till Night, when those unfortunate Creatures had supp'd and were asleep. *Liotot* the Surgeon was the inhuman Executioner, he took an Ax, began by the Sieur *Moranget*, giving him many Strokes on the Head; the same he did by the Footman and the *Indian*, killing them on the Spot, whilst his Fellow Villains, *viz.* *Duhaut*, *Hiens*, *Teissier* and *Larcheveque* stood upon their Guard, with their Arms, to fire upon such as should make any Resistance. The *Indian* and the Footman never stir'd, but the Sieur *Moranget* had so much Vigour as to sit up, but without being able to speak one Word, and the Assassins obliged the Sieur *de Marle* to make an End of him, tho' he was not in the Conspiracy.

This Slaughter had yet satisfy'd but one Part of the Revenge of those Murderers. To finish it and secure themselves it was requisite to destroy the Commander in Chief. They consulted about the safest Method to effect it, and resolve to go together to Monsieur *de la Sale*, to knock out the Brains of the most resolute immediately, and then it would be easier to overcome the rest. But the River,

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Discontent occasion'd by Monsr. Moranget.

Conspiracy to murder Monsr. de la Sale.

Bloody Murderers.

Consult to murder Monsr. de la Sale.

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which was between them and us, being much swollen, the Difficulty of passing it made them put it off the 18th and 19th. On the other Hand *Monsieur de la Sale* was very uneasy, on Account of their long Stay. His Impatience made him resolve to go himself to find out his People and to know the Cause of it.

He goes to
seek them.

This was not done without many previous Tokens of Concern, and Apprehension. He seem'd to have some Presage of his Misfortune, enquiring of some, whether the *Sieur Liotot*, *Hiens* and *Duhaut* had not express'd some Discontent; and not hearing any Thing of it, he could not forbear setting out the 20th, with Father *Anastasius* and an *Indian*, leaving me the Command in his Absence, and charging me from Time to Time to go the Rounds about our Camp, to prevent being surpriz'd, and to make a Smoke for him to direct his Way in Case of Need. When he came near the Dwelling of the Murderers, looking out sharp to discover something, he observed Eagles fluttering about a Spot, not far from them, which made him believe they had found some Carrion about the Mansion, and he fired a Shot, which was the signal of his Death and forwarded it.

Is mur-
der'd.

The Conspirators hearing the Shot, concluded it was *Monsieur de la Sale*, who was come to seek them. They made ready their Arms and provided to surprize him. *Duhaut* passed the River, with *Larcheveque*. The first of them spying *Monsieur de la Sale* at a Distance, as he was coming towards them, avanc'd and hid himself among the high Weeds, to wait his passing by, so that *Monsieur de la Sale* suspecting nothing, and having not so much as charg'd his Piece again, saw the aforesaid *Larcheveque* at a good Distance from him, and immediately ask'd for his Nephew *Moranget*, to which *Larcheveque* answer'd, That he was along the River. At the same Time the Traitor *Duhaut* fired his Piece and shot *Monsr. de la Sale* thro' the Head, so that he dropp'd down dead on the Spot, without speaking one Word.¹

¹ This occurred, according to Douay's account, on the 19th March, 1689.

Father *Anastasius*, who was then by his Side, stood stock still in a Fright, expecting the same Fate, and not knowing whether he should go forwards or backwards; but the Murderer *Duhaut* put him out of that Dread, bidding him not to fear, for no Hurt was intended him; that it was Despair that had prevail'd with him to do what he saw; that he had long desir'd to be revenged on *Moranget*, because he had designed to ruin him, and that he was partly the Occasion of his Uncle's Death. This is the exact Relation of that Murder, as it was presently after told me by F. *Anastasius*. Mar. 1687

Such was the unfortunate End of Monsieur *de la Sale's* Life, at a Time when he might entertain the greatest Hopes, as the Reward of his Labours.¹ He had a Capacity and Talent to make his Enterprize successful; his Constancy and Courage and his extraordinary Knowledge in Arts and Sciences, which render'd him fit for any Thing, together with an indefatigable Body, which made him surmount all Difficulties, would have procur'd a glorious Issue to his Undertaking, had not all those excellent Qualities been counterbalanced by too haughty a Behaviour, which sometimes made him insupportable, and by a Rigidity towards those that were under his Command, which at last drew on him an implacable Hatred, and was the Occasion of his Death. His Character.

The Shot which had kill'd Monsieur *de la Sale*, was also a Signal of the Murder to the Assassins for them to draw near. They all repair'd to the Place where the wretched dead Corps lay, which they barbarously strip'd to the Shirt, and vented their Malice in vile and opprobrious Language. The Surgeon *Liotot* said several Times in Scorn and Derision, *There thou liest, Great Bassa, there thou liest*. In Conclusion, they dragged it naked among the Bushes, and left it exposed to the ravenous Wild Beasts. So far was it Barbarity towards the dead Body.

¹ *Fr.* "dans le temps qu'il y avait tout à esperer des ses grands travaux"—at a time when there was the greatest hopes of the success of his enterprize. *C. C. edit.*

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from what a certain Author writes, of their having bury'd him and set up a cross on his Grave.¹

Murderers
return to
the Camp.

When those Murderers had satiated their Rage, they set out to come to us at our Camp, with the dry'd Flesh, which they had caus'd to be brought over the River by the *Indians*, who had been Spectators of the Murder and of all the inhuman Actions that had been committed, with Amazement and Contempt of us. When they were come to the Camp, they found Messieurs *Cavelier*, the one Brother, the other Nephew to the murder'd Commander, whom Father *Anastasius* acquainted with the dismal End of our Chief, and enjoyn'd them Silence, which it is easy to imagine was very hard upon them; but it was absolutely necessary.

However, Monsieur *Cavelier* the Priest, could not forbear telling them, that if they would do the same by him, he would forgive them his Murder, and only desir'd them to give him a Quarter of an Hour to prepare himself: They answer'd, They had Nothing to say to him; that what they had done was the Effect of Despair, to be reveng'd for the ill Usage they had receiv'd.

I was absent at that Time; he they call'd *Larcheveque*, who, as I have said, was one of the Conspirators, had some Kindness for me, and knowing they design'd to make me away too, if I stood upon my Defence, he parted from them, to give me Notice of their Mischievous Resolution. He found me on a little rising Ground, where I was looking upon our Horses as they graz'd in a little adjacent Bottom. His Intelligence struck me to the Heart, not knowing whether I should fly or stay; but at length, having neither Powder nor Shot, nor Arms, and the said *Larcheveque* giving me Assurances of my Life, provided I was quiet and

The Author
sav'd by a
Friend.

¹The author referred to here, is Father Douay, whose statement to this effect may be doubted, as Parkman observes that he did not "always write honestly," and that he probably invented the story of the burial, to cover his own dereliction in having failed (through terror) to discharge this duty. See Parkman's *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, ii, 176, 178, note, Champlain edition. This assassination occurred in a southern branch of the Trinity River.

said Nothing, I committed my self to God's Protection, and went to them, without taking any Notice of what had been done. Mar. 1687

Duhaut, puff'd up with his new gotten Authority, procur'd him by his Villany, as soon as he saw me, cry'd out, Every Man ought to command in his Turn; to which I made no Answer; and we were all of us oblig'd to stifle our Resentment, that it might not appear, for our Lives depended on it. However, it was easy to judge with what Eyes Father *Anastadius*, Messieurs *Cavelier* and I beheld these Murderers, to whom we expected every Moment to fall Sacrifices. It is true, we dissembled so well, that they were not very suspicious of us, and that the Temptation we were under of making them away in Revenge for those they had murder'd, would have easily prevail'd and been put in Execution, had not Monsieur *Cavelier*, the Priest, always positively oppos'd it, alledging, that we ought to leave Vengeance to God. Duhaut, the Murderer, usurps the Command.

However the Murderers seiz'd upon all the Effects, without any Opposition, and then we began to talk of proceeding on our Journey. We decamp'd the 21st, with our *Indians*, and march'd with such a heavy Rain, that we were oblig'd to halt on the Bank of a great Stream, where one of the Natives that had left us, arriv'd with his Wife. We went on the 22d and 23d, and pass'd the River, where Father *Anastadius*, Monsieur *Cavelier* and I, who could not swim, had been drown'd, but that the Natives assisted and sav'd us. The 24th, we went on thro' a marshy Country, never quitting a small Path which led to the Village of the *Cenis*, till the 28th, when we rested on the Bank of a River of the same Name, tho' about ten Leagues distant from the Village. March continued.

We had hop'd to ford that River, as Monsieur *de la Sale* had done, when he return'd from that Country; but it was so swollen, that there was no doing it, and we were forced to make a Canoe of Bullocks Hides. Whilst we were Cenis River.

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employ'd at that Work, the *Indians* swam over and went to give Notice to the *Cenis* of our Arrival.

Copal
Tree.

We found the Country pleasant enough about that River, tho' the Land did not seem to be any of the best; but still it was delightful to the Eye, well planted with fine Trees of several Sorts, among which, is one that Monsieur *de la Sale* had nam'd *Copal*, being very beautiful, the Leaves of it between those of the Maple and the lime¹ Trees in Resemblance, and from it comes a Gum, of a very agreeable Scent. In the same Place we saw a great Tree, on which the late Monsieur *de la Sale* had caus'd Crosses and the Arms of *France* to be carv'd.

The Author
sent to the
Cenis for
Provisions.

The Hunting of *Bullocks* had fail'd us, and we had seen none from the Place where our late Leader had been murder'd. Thus our Provisions began to fall short, and it was resolv'd on the 29th, to send some Men before, to the Village of the *Cenis*, to know, whether they had any *Indian* Corn, and were willing to barter for it. I was appointed, with the Surgeon *Liotot*, the *Teisieers*, and *Heins*, who was a *Buccanier*, Monsieur *de la Sale* had taken up at *Petit Gouave*, to go with him upon this Expedition. I was very unwilling to undertake that Journey, with a Murderer and two of his Companions, of whom I was suspicious; but it was very requisite to obey, and *Duhaut* having all the Effects in his Possession, alledging, that a great part of them belong'd to him, he gave us some Axes and Knives to barter for *Indian* Corn, as also for Horses, if any were to be had, and accordingly we pass'd the River.

The Coun-
try de-
scrib'd.

We found the Country made up of several little Hills, of an indifferent Height, on which there are Abundance of Walnut-Trees and Oaks, not so large as what we had seen before, but very agreeable. The Weeds which had been some Time before burnt by the Natives, began to spring up again, and discover'd large green Fields very pleasing to the Sight.

¹ Fr. "Tilleul."

When we had travell'd some Time, we discover'd three Mar. 1687 Men a Horseback, coming towards us from the Village, and being come near them, saw one dress'd after the *Spanish* Fashion, with a little Doublet, the Body whereof was of blue, and the Sleeves of white Fustian, as it were imbroider'd, with very streight Breeches, white worsted Stockings, Woollen-Garters, a broad-brim'd, flat-crown'd Hat, and long Hair. We presently concluded he was a *Spaniard*, and the rather because we had been told, that some of them were to come to join in League with the *Cenis*, against an Enemy nation, and we were at a Nonplus; for if we fell into their Hands, we must never expect to get away, but be condemn'd to serve either in the Mines, or in the Quarries, in the Kingdom of *Mexico*, for which Reason we provided to give the pretended *Spaniard* an unkind Reception, and then to make the best of our Way back.

A Man clad like a Spaniard.

Being come up to him, I spoke some Words of *Spanish* and *Italian*, to which he return'd no Answer; but on the contrary, made use of the Word *Coussica*, which in the Language of the *Cenis*, signifies, *I do not understand you*; which Answer of his remov'd our Apprehensions. The two others were quite naked, one of them being mounted on a fine grey Mare, and on her were besides two Panniers, handsomely made of Reeds, full of very fine Meal parch'd, or roasted. After several Questions, to which we had no very satisfactory Answers, we lighted Fire to make them smoke, and then they presented us with the two Panniers full of Meal, giving us to understand, that their Chief expected us in the Village, and having signify'd, that they were sent to meet us, we gave them some Knives and Strings of Beads.

We ask'd them, whether they had any Men among them like him that was a Horseback in the *Spanish* Habit, they answer'd, there were two in a Neighboring Nation, call'd *Assony*, and that he who was clad, had been in their Country, and brought thence the Cloaths we saw him wear. That Man then shew'd us a *Spanish* printed Paper, con-

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taining the Indulgences granted to the Missioners of *New Mexico*. After this they left us to go on, to our People, for which Reason I writ a Note, giving an Account of our having met them.

We alighted to eat, and let our Horses graze on the Bank of a Rivulet; but it was not long before the same Natives, who had been with us before, appear'd again hard by us. We made Signs to them to draw near and eat with us; which they did, and then went along with us towards the Village, which we would not go into, because it was Night. The *Indian* that was clad, stay'd all Night with us, and the two others went away.

*The Ceniz
meet the
French in
solemn
Manner.*

When it was Day, we held on our Way to the Village; the *Indian* that was with us conducting us to their Chief's Cottage. By the Way, we saw many other Cottages, and the Elders coming to meet us in their Formalities,¹ which consisted in some Goats Skins dress'd and painted of several Colours, which they wore on their Shoulders like Belts, and Plumes of Feathers of several Colours, on their Heads, like Coronets. Six or seven of them had square Sword Blades, like the *Spanish*, on the Hilts whereof they had fasten'd great Plumes of Feathers, and several Hawks Bells; some of them had Clubs, which they call Head-breakers, some only their Bows and Arrows;² others, Bits of White Linen, reaching from Shoulder to Shoulder. All their Faces were daub'd with black or red, There were twelve Elders, who walk'd in the Middle, and the Youth and Warriors in Ranks, on the Sides of those old Men.

Being come up to us in that Manner, he that conducted us, made a Sign for us to halt, which when we had done, all the old Men lifted up their Right Hands above their Heads, crying out in a most ridiculous Manner; but it behov'd us to have a Care of laughing. That done, they

¹ Trappings. The *Fr.* word used here is "ajustemens."

² *Fr.* "d'autre leurs arcs & deux flèches seulement,"—"others their bows & two arrows only." [d'autre is a misprint for "d'autres."] *C. C. edit.*

came and imbrac'd us, using all Sorts of Endearments. *Mar. 1687*
 Then they made us smoke, and brought to us a French *A French*
 Man of *Provence*, who was one of those that had forsaken *Man among*
 the late *Monsieur de la Sale*, at his first Journey.¹ *the Indians.*

The whole Company conducted us after the same Manner, to their Chief's Cottage; and after we had staid there a short Time, they led us to a larger Cottage, a Quarter of a League from thence, being the Hut in which they have their publick Rejoycings, and the great Assemblies. We *Indian En-*
 found it furnish'd with Mats for us to sit on. The Elders *tainment.*
 seated themselves round about us, and they brought us to eat, some *Sagamite*, which is their Pottage, little Beans, Bread made of *Indian* Corn, and another Sort they make with boil'd Flower, and at last they made us smoke.

During our Repast, they entertain'd us with the Discourse of their Design to make War on a Nation, who were their Enemies, and whom they call'd *Cannohantimo*. When it was over, we presented them, according to Custom, with some Knives and Strings of Beads for their Wives. We desir'd them to afford us some *Indian* Corn, in Exchange for other Things, which they promis'd, and the French Man who was with them, having told us, that there was a District, which afforded more Corn, than that where we were, and where his Cottage was, we resolv'd to go thither. We propos'd it to the Elders, who would needs go along with us, attended by a great Number of Youth, and having got ready our Horses, we set out for that Place.

By the Way, we saw several Cottages at certain Distances, stragling up and down,² as the Ground happens to be fit for Tillage. The Field lies about the Cottage, and at other Distances,³ there are other large Huts, not inhabited,

¹ *Fr.* "Il nous fit bien des caresses, il estoit tout nud, comme eux, & ce qui est surprenant, il avoit presque oublié son langage naturel." — "He gave us many caresses: he was, like them, quite naked; and what is remarkable, he had almost forgotten his native tongue." M. B. A.

² *Fr.* "pav halneaux" — probably a misprint for "hameaux" — hamlets. M. B. A.

³ *Fr.* "d'espace en espace" — at intervals.

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but only serving for publick Assemblies, either upon Occasion of Rejoycings, or to consult about Peace and War.

*Huts and
Families
in them.*

The Cottages that are inhabited, are not each of them for a private Family, for in some of them there are fifteen or twenty, each of which has its Nook or Corner, Bed and other Utensils to its self; but without any Partition to separate it from the rest: However, they have Nothing in Common besides the Fire, which is in the Midst of the Hut, and never goes out. It is made of great Trees, the Ends whereof are laid together, so that when once lighted, it lasts a long Time, and the first Comer takes Care to keep it up.

*Manner of
Building.*

The Cottages are round at the Top, after the Manner of a Bee-Hive, or a Reek of Hay. Some of them are sixty Foot Diameter. In Order to build them, they plant Trees as thick as a Man's Thigh, tall and strait, and placing them in a Circle, and joyning the Tops together, form the Dome, or round Top, then they lath and cover them with Weeds. When they remove their Dwellings, they generally burn the Cottages they leave, and build new on the Ground they design to inhabit.

*Their
moveables.*

Their Movables are some Bullocks Hides and Goats Skins well cur'd, some Mats close wove, wherewith they adorn their Huts, and some Earthen Vessels, which they are very skilful at making, and wherein they boil their Flesh or Roots, or *Sagamite*, which, as has been said, is their Pottage. They have also some small Baskets made of Canes, serving to put in their Fruit and other Provisions. Their Beds are made of Canes, rais'd two or three Foot above the Ground, handsomely fitted with Mats and Bullocks Hides, or Goats Skins well cur'd, which serve them for Feather Beds, or Quilts and Blankets cured with the hair on, to serve as mattresses and bedclothes; and those Beds are parted one from another by Mats hung up.

Beds.

Tillage.

When they design to Till the Ground, they give one another Notice, and very often above an Hundred of each Sex meet together. When they have till'd that Piece of

Land, after their Manner, and spent part of the Day, those the Land belongs to, give the others to Eat, and then they spend the rest of the Day in Dancing and Merry Making. This same is practis'd from Canton to Canton, and so they till Land all together.

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This Tillage consists in breaking up just the Surface of the Earth with a Sort of Wooden Instrument, like a little Pick-axe, which they make by splitting the End of a thick Piece of Wood, that serves for a Handle, and putting another Piece of Wood sharp Pointed at one End into the Slit. This Instrument serves them instead of a Hoe, or Spade, for they have no Iron Tools. When the Land has been thus till'd or broke up, the Women Sow and Plant the *Indian* Corn, Beans, Pompions, Water Melons, and other Grain and Garden Ware, which is for their Sustenance.

Instrument
for Tilling.

Women
sow.

The *Indians* are generally Handsom, but disfigure themselves by making Scores, or Streaks on their Faces, from the Top of the Forehead down the Nose to the Tip of the Chin; which is done by pricking the Skin with Needles, or other sharp Instruments, till it bleeds, whereon they strew fine Powder of Charcoal, and that sinks in and mixes with the Blood within the Skin. They also make after the same Manner, the Figures of living Creatures, of Leaves and Flowers on their Shoulders, Thighs, and other Parts of their Bodies, and Paint themselves, as has been said before, with Black or Red, and sometimes both together.

Indians
disfigure
themselves.

The Women are generally well Shap'd, and would not be disagreeable, did they adhere to Nature; but they Disguise themselves as ridiculously as the Men, not only with the Streak they have like them down their Face, but by other Figures they make on it, at the Corners of their Eyes, and on the other Parts of their Bodies; whereof they make more particular Show on their Bosom, and those who have the most, are reckoned the handsomest; tho' that pricking in that Part be extremely painful to them.

Women.

It is they that do all the Work¹ in the Cottage, either in

¹ *Fr.* "presque tout le travail"—almost all the work.

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*They do the
Work at
Home.*

Pounding the *Indian* Corn and Baking the Meal, or making the Pottage of the said Meal, by them call'd *Sagamite*, or in dressing their other Provisions, or drying or parching, or smoaking their Flesh, fetching the Wood they have Occasion for, or the Flesh of Bullocks, or other Beasts kill'd by their Husbands in the Woods, which are often at a great Distance, and afterwards Dressing them as has been said. They Sow and Plant, when the Land has been broke up, and in short, do almost all that is requisite for the Support of Life.

Their Behaviour.

I did not observe that those Women were naturally given to Lewdness; but their Virtue is not Proof against some of our Toys, when presented them, as Needles, Knives, and more particularly Strings of Beads, whereof they make Necklaces and Bracelets, and that Temptation is rarely resisted by them, and the less because they have no Religion or Law to prohibit that vile Practice. It is true their Husbands, when they take them in the Fact, sometimes do punish them, either by Separation or otherwise; but that is rare.

Habits.

The Country of those *Indians* being generally subject to no Cold, almost all of them go naked; unless when the *North* Wind blows, then they cover themselves with a Bullock's Hide, or Goat's Skin cur'd. The Women wear nothing but a Skin, Mat, or Clout, hanging round them like a Petticoat, and reaching down half way their Legs, which hides their Nakedness before and behind. On their Heads they have nothing but their Hair platted and knotted behind.

Manners.

As for their Manners, it may be said of these as of all other *Indians* of that great Continent, that they are not Mischievous, unless wrong'd or attack'd; in which Case they are all Fierce and Revengeful. They Watch all Opportunities to be Reveng'd, and never let any slip, when offer'd, which is the Cause of their being continually at War with their Neighbours, and of that Martial Humour, so Predominant among them.

As to the Knowledge of a God, they did not seem to us to have any fix'd Notion of Him; it is true, we met with some on our Way, who as far as we could judge, believ'd, there was some Superior Being, which was above all Things, and this they testify'd by lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven, yet without any Manner of Concern, as believing that the said exalted Being does not regard at all, what is done here below. However none of them having any Places of Worship, Ceremonies, or Prayers, to denote the divine Homage, it may be said of them all, that they have no Religion, at least those that we saw.

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Religion.

However, they observe some Ceremonies; but whether they have any Regard to a real or pretended Superior Being, or whether they are only popular, and proceeding from Custom, is what we were not able to discover. Those Ceremonies are as follows. When the Corn is ripe, they gather a certain Quantity in a Maund or Basket, which is placed on a Sort of Seat or Stool, dedicated to that Use, and serving only upon those misterious Occasions, which they have a great Veneration for.

Ceremonies.

The Basket with the Corn being placed on that honour'd Stool, one of the Elders holds out his Hands over it, and talks a long Time; after which, the said old Man distributes the Corn among the Women, and no Person is allow'd to eat of the new Corn, till eight Days after that Ceremony. This seems to be in the Nature of Offering up or Blessing the first Fruits of their Harvest.

At their Assemblies, when the *Sagamite*, or Pottage, which is the most essential Part of their meal, is boil'd in a great Pot, they place that Pot on the Stool of Ceremony above mention'd, and one of the Elders stretches out his Hands over it, muttering some Words between his Teeth for a considerable Time, after which, they fall to eat.

When the young Folks are grown up to be fit to go to the Wars, and take upon them to be Soldiers, their Garment, consisting of some Skin, or Clout, together with their Bow, Quiver and Arrows, is placed on the aforesaid

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Stool, an old Man stretches out his Hands over them, mutters the Words as above, and then the Garments, Bows, Quivers, and Arrows are given to the Persons they belong to. This may be compar'd to Something of a Ceremony of Knighting among them. The same Ceremonies are us'd by them in the cultivating of their Grain and Product, but particularly of the Tabacco, whereof they have a Sort, which has smaller Leaves than Ours; it is almost ever green and they use it in Leaves.

Tabacco.

This is what we observ'd among the *Cenis*, whose Customs and Manners differ very little from those of other Nations, which we had seen before, and saw afterwards. As to the Point of Religion, it is not to be infer'd from what I have said above, that there is none throughout that vast Continent: The Account I have given only regards those Nations we saw; there may be others that have some Worship, and I remember I have heard Monsieur *de la Sale* say, that the Nation call'd *Takensa*, neighbouring on the *Islinois*, ador'd the Fire, and that they had Cottages which they made use of, as Temples.

Nation,
what is
meant here
by it.

Before I conclude this short Account of the Religion, Customs and Manners of the *Cenis*, which belong'd properly to this Place, it is fit here also to observe, that the Word Nation, is not to be understood, among those *Indians*, to denote a People possessing a whole Province, or vast Extent of Land. Those Nations are no other than a Parcel of Villages, dispers'd for the Space of fifteen, of twenty or of thirty Leagues at most, which compose a distinct People or Nation; and they differ from one another rather in Language than in Manners, wherein they are all much alike, or at least they vary but little, as has been mention'd above. As for the Names of them, here follow those of such as we travel'd through, or were near the Way we held from our leaving our Habitation near the Bay of the Holy Ghost, till we came among the *Cenis*.

Names of
Nations.

The *Spicheats*, *Kabayes*, *Thecamons*, *Thearemets*, *Kiabaha*, *Chaumenes*, *Kouans*, *Arhau*, *Enepiahe*, *Ahonerhopi*

heim, Koienkahe, Konkone, Omcaosse, Keremen, Ahe- Mar. 1687
kouen, Meghty, Tetamenes, Otenmarhen, Kouayon and
Meracouman. All these Nations are on the North of the
 River called *la Meline*. Those that follow, are on the
 West and North-West of the same River.

The *Kannchouan, Tohaha, Pihir, Cagabegux, Onapien,*
Pickar, Tokau, Kuasses, Chancres, Teserabocretes, Tsepe-
houen, Fercoutcha, Panego, Petao, Petzare, Peisacho, Pei-
*houn, Orcan and Piou.*¹ This last Nation borders upon
 the *Cenis*, at the Entrance into whose first Village I left
 my Reader, to give an Account of the Inhabitants, and
 thither I return, to proceed with my Relation and our Jour-
 ney to the Village, the *French Man* who liv'd among the
 Natives was to conduct us to.

We arriv'd there at Night, and found other Elders com-
 ing out to meet us, much after the same Manner as the
 others mention'd before. They led us to their Cottage,
 made us sit down on Mats and smoke, but not with so
 much Ceremony as the others. That done, it was Time
 for us to take our Rest, having given them to understand
 that we were weary.

The *French Provençal* would needs have us go to his French
 Cottage, that is to the Hut where he had his Dwelling; Entertained
 for, as I have said, there are several Families in one of by the
 them, and that was one of the greatest in the Canton, hav- Natives.
 ing been the Habitation of one of their Chief's, lately
 deceased.

They allotted us a Place there, for our Goods and Packs,
 the Women immediately made *Sagamite* or Pottage, and

¹ *Takensa,*
Enepiahe,
Ahonerhopiheim,
Ahekouen,
Meghty,
Kouayon,
Cagabegux,
Pickar,
Tokau,
Peihoun,

Fr. Tahenssa
 " *Enepiahe*
 " *Ahonerhopiheim*
 " *Ahehouen*
 " *Meghey*
 " *Kouayon*
 " *Coyabegux*
 " *Pickar*
 " *Tohau*
 " *Peihoum*

Apr. 1687 gave it us. Having eaten, we ask'd the *French* Man whether we were safe, and he answering we were, we lay down, but yet could not sleep sound.

*A Horse
sold for an
Ax.*

The next Day, being the first of *April*, the Elders came to receive and conducted us to the Cottage where we had been the Day before. After the usual Ceremonies, we traded with them for Corn, Meal and Beans, giving in Exchange for the same, Needles, Knives, Rings and other Toys. We also purchased a very fine Stone Horse,¹ that would have been worth twenty Pistoles in *France*, for an Ax.

The Day was spent in driving our small Bargains and gathering Provisions, which the Women brought. When that was done, it was agreed, that I should remain there, to lay up more Store, and that the others should return to our Company, which we had left near the River, to carry the Provisions and satisfy them they might come safely.

Tho' I thought my self not over secure among the *Indians*, and besides had the Dissatisfaction of understanding none of their Language; yet was I not unwilling to stay, that I might have an Opportunity of seeing the two other *French* Men, who had forsaken the late *Monsieur de la Sale*, when he first travell'd into that Country, that I might enquire of them, whether they had heard no talk of the *Missisipi* River, for I still held my Resolution of parting from our wicked Murderers.

As soon as they were gone, I gave a young *Indian* a Knife, to go bid those two other *French* Men come to me, and whilst he was going I drove on my little Trade for Provisions, and had frequent Visits from the Elders, who entertain'd me by Signs, with an Account of their intended War; to which I still answer'd, nodding my Head, tho' very often I knew not what they meant. It was some Difficulty to me to secure my small Merchandize, especially at Night, for the Natives were covetous of them.

¹*Fr.* un cheval entier et fort beau"—a very handsome *entire* horse. *C. C. edit.: i. e.*, a stallion.

This Care, which kept me from Sleeping sound, was the Occasion, that one Night I heard some Body moving near my Bed, and opening my Eyes, by the Light of the Fire, which never goes out in those Cottages, perceiv'd a Man stark naked, with a Bow and two Arrows in his Hand, who came and sat down by me, without saying any Thing. I view'd him for some Time, I spoke to him, he made me no Answer, and not knowing what to think of it, I laid hold of my two Pistols and my Firelock, which the Man perceiving, he went and sat by the Fire. I follow'd, and looking steadfastly on him, he knew and spoke to me, throwing his Arms about and embracing me, and then made himself known to be one of the French Men I had sent for.

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*The Author
meets another
French
Man among
the Indians.*

We fell into Discourse, I ask'd him for his Comrade, he told me, he durst not come, for Fear of Monsieur *de la Sale*. They were both Sailors, this Man, who was of *Britany*, was call'd *Ruter*; the other, of *Rochelle*, *Grollet*. They had, in that short Space of Time, so perfectly enur'd themselves to the Customs of the Natives, that they were become meer Savages. They were naked, their Faces and Bodies with Figures wrought on them, like the rest. They had taken several Wives, been at the Wars and kill'd their Enemies with their Firelocks, which had gain'd them Reputation; but having no more Powder nor Ball, their Arms were grown useless, and they had been forc'd to learn to shoot with Bows and Arrows. As for Religion, they were not troubled with much of it, and that Libertine Life they led, was pleasing to them.

*French
turn'd
savage.*

I acquainted this Man with the unfortunate Death of Monsr. *de la Sale*, his Nephew and the rest, at which, he was surpris'd and concern'd, at least in outward Appearance. I ask'd him, whether he had not heard talk of the *Missisipi*; he told me he had not; but only that there was a great River forty Leagues from thence towards the *N. W.*¹

¹ *Fr.* Nord'ouïest"—Northwest.

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where the Natives said there were many Nations along its Banks. That made me believe, it was the very River we were in Search of, or at least that it must be the Way to come at it. I gave him to eat, and we went to Rest.

The next and the following Days, I continu'd trading, and the Elders their Visits, and their Discourse by Signs, concerning their intended War. Some of them gave me to understand, that they had been among the *Spaniards*, who are nevertheless about two hundred Leagues from them. They spoke some Words of broken *Spanish*, as *Capita*, instead of *Capitan*, a Captain, and *Cohavillo* instead of *Cavallo*, a Horse, and so of some others. *Ruter*, the *French* Man return'd to his Dwelling, I gave him some Strings of Beads for his Wives, and desir'd him to send the other *French* Man to me.

*Indian
Maid
brought to
the Author.*

In the mean Time my being alone, as to any Person I could converse with, grew very irksome to me, and I know not whether an old Man did not perceive it; for he thought it would be proper to bring a Companion, to divert me, and at Night I was surpris'd to see a young Maid come sit down by me, and to hear the old Man tell me, he had brought her to be my Wife, and gave her to me; but I had far different Thoughts to disturb me. I spoke not one Word to that poor Maid; she stay'd some Time expecting I would take notice of her, and perceiving I did not stir, or speak one Word, she withdrew.

*French
Men like
Indians.*

Thus I continu'd, without hearing any News, till the Sixth of *April*, when the two *French* Men, I have spoken of, came both, in the *Indian* Dress, each of them having only a Clout about him, some Turkey Feathers on their Shoulders, their Heads and Feet bare. The latter of them whose name was *Grollet*, had not consented to have his Face mark'd like the other, nor to cut his Hair after the *Indian* Manner; for those People cut off all theirs, except a small Lock on the Crown of the Head, like the *Turks*, only some of them have small Tresses on the Temples.

I repeated to them the Narrative of Monsieur *de la Sale's* unfortunate Story. They confirm'd what I had been told before, that the Natives had talk'd to them of the great River, which was forty Leagues off, towards the N. E. and that there were People like us, that dwelt on the Banks of it. This confirm'd me in the Opinion, that it was the River so much sought after, and that we must go that Way to return to *Canada* or towards *New England*. They told me, they would willingly go with us. I desired them to keep it secret, which they did not, for being inform'd that Monsieur *Cavelier* and the others were coming, they went to meet them, and I was again left alone.

The 8th, three Men came to me, one of which was the *French Man of Provence*, with each of them a Horse, sent by our People to carry away all the Provisions I had got together, having taken a Resolution, as those Persons they had sent told us, to return to the Dwelling of *St. Lewis*, about the Bay of the same Name, from whence we came; designing, as they pretended, to build a Boat there, to carry them over to the Islands of *America*; an impracticable Notion, for all our Carpenters were dead, and tho' they had been alive, they were so ignorant, that none of them would have known which Way to go about that Work; besides that, we were destitute of all Necessaries for that Effect. However we must obey, and set out with our Provisions. The Rain having detain'd us the 9th on the Way, we could not come up to them till the next Day, being the Tenth.

Father *Anastasius* gave me the Confirmation of that Design, and farther told me how roughly they had been treated by those Murderers since my Departure. I know not what it was that mov'd them to it, but they had resolved to seporate themselves from those Villains, and that we should eat apart, *viz.* Monsieur *Cavelier* the Priest, F. *Anastasius*, young *Cavelier* and I, which was very agreeable to us, because at least we could talk freely, which we durst not do before; but at the same Time they allow'd us

The Murderers resolve to return to the Habitation of St. Lewis.

Apr. 1687 no more Provisions than would suffice to keep us from starving, without giving us Share of any Flesh, tho' they often kill'd.

The Author and others resolve to part from the Murderers.

Our Tyrants still holding their Resolution to return to their former Habitation, thought they had not Horses enough, and therefore deputed four of their Number, one of which was the *French Man* half turn'd *Indian*, to return to the Village of the *Cenis* and endeavour to barter for some. At the same Time we agreed together to let those Gentlemen know, that we were too much fatigued to return with them to the said Habitation, and were resolved to remain in the Village of the *Cenis*. *Monsieur Cavalier* undertook to be our Speaker, and to desire *Duhaut*, who was Master of all, to give us some Axes, Knives and Strings of Beads, Powder and Shot, offering to give him a Note of his Hand for the same.

Design of the Murderers.

To conclude, *Monsieur Cavalier* made the Proposal to *Duhaut*, disguis'd it the best he was able, and *Duhaut* took till the next Day to return his answer. He consulted with his Companions, and acquainted us, that they would deal handsomely by us, and give us half the Effects and all the Axes, intending to make the most Speed they could, to get to our former Dwelling, and to put in Execution what they had before design'd, as to the Building of a Bark. But in Case they could not succeed, for want of Necessaries, they would immediately return to us and bring *F. Zenobius* along with them, who would be serviceable to us, because, having been with *Monsieur de la Sale* upon his first Discovery, he understood the Language of the Nations about the *Missisipi* River. That whilst they were upon that Journey, we should take Care to gather a Stock of Provisions, and that if they succeeded in building the Bark, they would send us Word, that we might repair to them. *Monsieur Cavalier* approv'd of all they said, tho' we had other Designs. However it prov'd we were all Mistaken, for Providence had order'd Affairs otherwise.

We stay'd there some Time, expecting those who were

gone to the *Cenis*, they staying longer than was requisite May 1687
 for that Journey. The overflowing of the River was their Pretence, but the true Reason was the Women, who as I have said, are not so forward as to offer themselves, but on the other Hand will not be over difficult in complying for some little Present, and those who were sent did not grudge their Time. In the mean while the Posture of our Affairs changed, as follows.

One of our half Savage *French Men*, whom I had acquainted with our Design to go find the *Missisipi*, communicated it to *Hautot*,¹ telling him all the particulars he had before acquainted me with; whereupon *Duhaut* chang'd his Mind, as to the Design of going to the Habitation of *St. Lewis*, resolving to follow our intended Way and execute our Project. He imparted his Thoughts to his Companions, who were of the same Opinion, and all of them acquainted us, that they were ready to put in Execution the Enterprize we had form'd.

*Murderers
change
their Mind.*

This Change troubled us very much, there being nothing we coveted more than to part with those Miscreants, from whom we could at a long Run expect no better Usage than they had afforded our Commander and his Friends. However, it was still requisite to dissemble, there being no other Remedy at that Time: But God's Justice provided for and rescued us. We continued in that Camp all the remaining part of *April*, expecting the Persons that had been sent to the *Cenis*, and *Duhaut* intending to begin to put in Execution his Design of going to find out the *Missisipi*, with us, made us advance towards the River that was near, in order to pass it as soon as fallen, and repair to the Village of the *Cenis*.

We staid three Days longer in that Post, at the End whereof, he we call'd *Larcheveque*, one of those that had been sent out, cross'd the River. He was *Duhaut's* Creature, and an Accomplice in the Murder of *Monsieur de la*

*Murderers
differ in
Opinion.*

¹This name, although same in French original, is probably a misprint for *Leitot*.

May 1687.

Sale. He inform'd¹ *Duhaut*, that one they call'd *Hiens*, who was also one of our Messengers, and had stayed on the other Side of the River, had heard of *Duhaut* and the rest altering their Resolution, and that he was not of their Mind. *Hiens* was a *Buccanier*, and by Birth a *German*. *Monsieur de la Sale* had brought him from *Petit Gouave*, and he was also accessory to the late Murders.

After we had been some Days longer in the same Place, *Hiens* arriv'd with the two half Savage *French* Men and about twenty Natives. He went immediately to *Duhaut*, and after some Discourse, told him, he was not for going towards the *Missisipi*, because it would be of dangerous Consequence for them, and therefore demanded his Share of the Effects he had seiz'd upon. *Duhaut* refusing to comply, and affirming, that all the Axes were his own; *Hiens*, who it is likely had laid the Design before to kill him, immediately drew his Pistol, and fired it upon *Duhaut*, who stagger'd about four Paces from the Place and fell down dead. At the same Time *Ruter*, who had been with *Hiens*, fired his Piece upon *Liotot*, the Surgeon, and shot him thro' with three Balls.

Hiens
kills *Du-*
haut, and
Ruter
Liotot.

These Murders committed before us, put me into a terrible Consternation; for believing the same was design'd for me, I laid hold of my Fire-Lock to defend my self; but *Hiens* cry'd out to me, to fear nothing, to lay down my Arms, and assur'd me he had no Design against me; but that he had reveng'd his Master's Death. He also satisfy'd *Monsieur Cavalier* and *Father Anastasius*, who were as much frighted as my self, declaring he meant them no Harm, and that tho' he had been in the Conspiracy, yet had he been present at the Time when *Monsieur de la Sale* was kill'd, he would not have consented, but rather have obstructed it.

Liotot liv'd some Hours after, and had the good Fortune to make his Confession; after which, the same *Ruter*, put

¹ *Fr.* "Il apprit de *Duhaut*"—He learned from *Duhaut*.

him out of his Pain, with a Pistol-Shot. We dug a Hole May 1687
 in the Earth, and bury'd him in it with *Duhaut*, doing them
 more Honour than they had done to Monsieur *de la Sale*
 and his Nephew *Moranget*, whom they left to be devour'd
 by wild Beasts. Thus those Murderers met with what they
 had deserv'd, dying the same Death they had put others to.

The Natives, *Hiens* had brought with him, having been
 Spectators of that Murder, were in a Consternation, and
 that Affair was of dangerous Consequence to us, who stood
 in Need of them. It was therefore requisite to make the
 best of it, giving them to understand, that there had been
 Reason for so punishing those dead Persons, because they
 had all the Powder and Ball, and would not give any to
 the rest. They remain'd satisfy'd with that Excuse, and
 he who was called *Larcheveque*, and who was entirely de-
 voted to *Duhaut*, being Abroad a hunting since the Morn-
 ing, and not knowing what Misfortune had hapned his
 Protector, and *Hiens* being resolv'd to make away with
 him, Father *Anastasius* and Monsieur *Cavelier* took so
 much Pains, that they dissuaded him from it, and I went
 out and met *Larcheveque*, to give him Notice of that Dis-
 aster, and to inform him, how he was to behave himself.
 Thus I requited him for having come to give me Notice of
 Monsieur *de la Sale's* Death. I brought him to *Hiens*,
 who declar'd he design'd him no Harm, and *Larcheveque*
 gave him the same Assurances on his Part. Thus all
 Things are again compos'd, and nothing remain'd, but for
 us to set out, but first to know what we were to do, and
 which Way to direct our Course.

Hereupon, *Heins* took upon him to speak, and said, he
 had promis'd the Natives to go to the War with them, and
 design'd to be as good as his Word; that if we would ex-
 pect his Return, we might by that Time consider which
 Way he would move,¹ and that in the mean Time we

¹ That we might see what direction we could take [*i. e.*, take informa-
 tion as to their future line of march]. M. B. A.

May 1687

might stay in the Village among the *Cenis*. This was resolv'd on; we loaded all our Effects on our Horses, and repair'd to the same Place and the same Cottage, where we had been before, the Chief of it assigning us the one Half to lodge and lay up our Baggage.

Six French Men go to the Wars with the Natives.

When the Day for setting out for the War was come, *Hiens* departed with the Natives, four of our Comrades and the two half Savage French Men going along with him; so that there were six of them, and each took a Horse. *Hiens* left us all the Effects, and desir'd we would stay for him, which we promis'd, not knowing how to avoid it, considering, that the *Indians* might have done us Harm, and even have obstructed our Departure. Thus we resign'd ourselves to Providence, and remain'd six of us together, viz. Father *Anastasius*, Monsieur *Cavelier*, his Nephew young *Cavelier*, young *Talon*, another Youth of *Paris*, and I. There also remain'd some old Men, who could not go to the War, and the Women. We were also join'd by two other French Men, who had been left on the other Side the River, being the *Provencal* and one *Teissier*.

Bewailing the Memory of Men kill'd.

During our Stay, and our Warriors being abroad upon that Expedition, the old Men often visited us, and told us News from the Army by Signs, which we understood nothing of. We were from Time to Time alarm'd, seeing the Women weep, without any visible cause. The late Monsieur *de la Sale* had often told us, that the Women bewail'd those that were to be kill'd; but we were inform'd, that they did so, when they call'd to Mind some who had been slain in the former Wars; which dispell'd our Apprehensions. However we were uneasy, because those old Men and Women examined us every Morning and Evening when we perform'd our Devotions.

We laid hold of that Opportunity to give them to understand, that we paid our Duty to one God, the only Supreme Sovereign of all Things, pointing to Heaven, and endeavouring in the best Manner we were able, to signify to them that he was Almighty, that he had made all Things,

that he caus'd the Earth to produce, it's Fruits to prosper, *May 1687*
 and the Growth of it, which maintain'd them to thrive;
 but this being only by Signs, they did not understand us,
 and we labour'd in vain.

The 18th, we were surpriz'd to see several Women come
 into our Cottage, their Faces all besmear'd with Earth, and *Women re-*
 they set up their Throats, singing several Songs as loud *joice at*
 as they were able,¹ whereof we understood not one Word. *Victory.*
 That done, they fell a Dancing in a Ring, and we could not
 tell, what to think of that Rejoicing, which lasted full three
 Hours; after which we were inform'd, they had receiv'd
 Advice of the Victory obtain'd by their Warriors over their
 Enemies. The Dance concluded, those in the Cottage gave
 some Bits of Tobacco to those without.

The same Day, about Noon, we saw him that had brought
 the News, who affirm'd they had kill'd at least Forty of
 their Enemies. After the Rejoicing, all the Women ap-
 ply'd themselves to make ready their Provisions, some to
 pound *Indian* Corn, others to boil Meal, which they call
Grouller, and others to bake Bread, to carry to the War-
 riors. They all set out the 19th to meet them, and we
 thought it in policy convenient to send Meat to our Men
 which was done by the *French* Man of *Provence*, who went
 with the Women.

That same Day, at Night, the Victorious Army returned, *Account of*
 and we were informed, that their Enemies whom they call *the Battle*
Cannohatinno, had expected them boldly, but that having *fought by*
 heard the Noise, and felt the Effects of our Mens Fire *the Cenis.*
 Arms, they all fled, so that the *Cenis* had either kill'd or
 taken Forty Eight Men and Women. They had slain sev-
 eral of the latter, who fled to the Tops of Trees, for want
 of Time to make their Escape otherwise; so that many
 more Women had perish'd than Men.

They brought Home two of those Women alive, one *Barbarity*
 of whom had her Head flead for the Sake of her Hair and *of the Men*
towards a
Woman
taken.

¹ *Fr.* "qui se mirent à chanter à pleine gorge des chansons dif-
 ferentes"—who began loudly to sing various songs. *C. C. edit.*

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Skin. They gave that wretched Creature a Charge of Powder and a Ball, and sent Her home, bidding her carry that Present to her Nation, and to assure them, they should be again treated after the same Manner, that is, kill'd with Fire Arms.

Of the Women.

The other Woman was kept to fall a Sacrifice to the Rage and Vengeance of the Women and Maids; who having arm'd themselves with thick Stakes, sharp Pointed at the End, Conducted that Wretch to a By-Place, where each of those Furies began to torment her, sometimes with the Point of their Staff, and sometimes laying on her with all their Might. One tore off her Hair, another cut off her Finger, and every one of those outrageous Women endeavour'd to put her to some exquisite Torture, to revenge the Death of their Husbands and Kinsmen, who had been kill'd in the former Wars; so that the unfortunate Creature expected her Death Stroke, as Mercy.

Inhumanity.

At last, one of them gave her a Stroke with a heavy Club on the Head, and another run her Stake several Times into her Body, with which she fell down Dead on the Spot. Then they cut that Miserable Victim into Morsels, and oblig'd some Slaves of that Nation, they had been long possess'd of to eat them.

Cruel Trophies.

Thus our Warriors return'd Triumphant from that Expedition. They spar'd none of the Prisoners they had taken, except two little Boys, and brought Home all the Skins of their Heads, with the Hair, to be kept as Trophies and glorious Memorials of their Victory.

The next Day all those Savages met in their Chief's Cottage, whither all the abovemention'd Heads of Hair were carry'd in State. Then they made extraordinary Rejoicings in that Cottage, whence they went to the Huts of the other Prime Men, to perform the same Ceremony. This Rejoicing lasted three Days, our *French* Companions, who had been the Cause of their Victory, being call'd to it, and highly entertain'd, after their Manner. It will not be disagreeable to the Reader, that I here particularly describe

that Ceremony, which after having been perform'd in the *May 1687*
Cottages of the Chief Men, was repeated in ours.

In the first Place, the Cottage was made very clean, *Ceremony*
adorn'd, and abundant of Mats laid on the Floor, on which *of Rejoic-*
the Elders, and the most considerable Persons sate; after *ing.*
which, one of them, who is in the Nature of an Orator,
or Master of the Ceremonies stood up and made a Speech,
of which we understood not a Word. Soon after that Dis-
course was ended, the Warriors arriv'd, who had slain any
in Battle, marching in their proper Order, each of them
carrying a Bow and two Arrows, and before every one of
them went his Wife, carrying the Enemies Head of Hair.
Two little Boys, whose Lives they had spar'd, as has been
said before, one of them who was wounded being a Horse-
back, clos'd the procession; at the Head whereof, was a
Woman carrying a large Reed, or Cane in her Hand.

As they came up to the Orator, the Warrior took the
Head of Hair his Wife had brought, and presented it to
him, which the said Orator receiv'd with both his Hands,
and after having held it out towards the four Quarters of
the World, he laid it down on the Ground, and then took
the next, performing the same Ceremony, till he had gone
over them all.

When the Ceremony was ended, they serv'd up the *Saga-*
mite, in the Nature of Hasty Pudding, which those Women
had provided, and before any one touch'd it, the Master of
the Ceremonies took some in a Vessel, which he carry'd as
an Offering to those Heads of Hair. Then he lighted a Pipe
of Tabacco, and blow'd the Smoke upon them. That being
perform'd, they all fell to the Meat, *Bits of the Woman that*
had been sacrific'd were served up to the two Boys of her
Nation. They also serv'd up dry'd Tongues of their Ene-
mies, and the whole concluded with Dancing and Singing
after their Manner: After which, they went to other Cot-
tages to repeat the same Ceremony.

There was no talk of our Design till those Rejoycings
were over, and I began to conceive good Hopes of our

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Success. The two Murderers, *Teissier* and *Larcheveque*, who had both a Hand in the Death of Monsr. *de la Sale*, had promis'd to go along with us, provided Monsr. *Cavelier* would pardon them, and he had given them his Word so to do. In this Expectation we continu'd till the 25th, when our French Men, who had been at the War, repair'd to our Cottage, and we consulted about our Business.

Hiens and others of his Gang, disapproving of our Design, represented to us such Difficulties as they look'd upon to be unsurmountable, under which we must inevitably perish, or at least be oblig'd to return to the same Place. *Hiens* told us, that for his own Part, he would not hazard his Life to return into *France*, only to have his Head chopp'd off, and perceiving we answer'd Nothing to that, but that we persisted in our Resolution, *It is requisite then*, said he, *to divide what Effects remain.*

Hiens gives the others what he pleases, and seizes the rest of the Effects.

Accordingly he laid aside, for *F. Anastasius*, Messieurs *Cavelier*, the Uncle and the Nephew,¹ thirty Axes, four or five Dozens of Knives, about thirty Pounds of Powder and the like Quantity of Ball. He gave each of the others two Axes, two Knives, two or three Pounds of Powder, with as much Ball, and kept the rest. As for the Horses, he kept the best and left us the three least. Monsieur *Cavelier* ask'd him for some Strings of Beads, which he granted, and seiz'd upon all the late Monsr. *de la Sale's* Cloaths, Baggage and other Effects, besides above a thousand Livres in Money, which belong'd to the late Monsr. *le Gros*, who dy'd at our Dwelling of *St. Lewis*. Before our Departure, it was a sensible Affliction to us, to see that Villain walk about, in a scarlet Coat, with Gold Galons, which had belong'd to the late Monsr. *de la Sale*, and which, as I have said, he had seiz'd.

Mr. Cavelier and his Company part from the others.

After that, *Hiens* and his Companions withdrew to their own Cottage, and we resolv'd not to put off our Departure

¹ M. Moranget. Following the word "nephew," in the *Fr.* are the words "& pour moy"—and for me.

any longer. Accordingly, we made ready our Horses, May 1687
 which much alarm'd the Natives, and especially the Chief
 of them, who said and did all he could to obstruct our
 Journey, promising us Wives, Plenty of Provisions, repre-
 senting to us the immense Dangers, as well from Enemies,
 who surrounded them, as from the bad and impassable
 Ways and the many Woods and Rivers we were to pass.
 However, we were not to be moved, and only ask'd one
 Kindness of him, in obtaining of which, there were many
 difficulties, and it was, that he would give us Guides to
 conduct us to *Cappa*; but at length, after much Trouble and
 many Promises of a good Reward, one was granted, and
 two others went along with him.

All Things being thus order'd for our Departure, we took
 Leave of our Hosts, pass'd by *Heins's* Cottage and em-
 brac'd him and his Companions. We ask'd him for another
 Horse, which he granted. He desired an Attestation in
Latin of Monsieur *Cavelier*, that he had not been concern'd
 in the Murder of Monsieur *de la Sale*, which was given him,
 because there was no refusing of it; and we set forward
 without *Larcheveque* and *Meunier*, who did not keep their
 Word with us, but remain'd among those Barbarians, being
 infatuated with that Course of Libertinism they had run
 themselves into. Thus there were only seven of us that
 stuck together to return to *Canada*, viz. Father *Anastadius*,
 Messieurs *Cavelier* the Uncle and the Nephew, the *Sieur de*
Marle, one *Teissier*, a young Man born at *Paris*, whose
 Name was *Bartholomew* and I, with six horses and the three
Indians, who were to be our Guides; a very small Number
 for so great an Enterprize, but we put ourselves entirely into
 the Hands of Divine Providence, confiding in God's Mercy,
 which did not forsake us.

French
Men stay
with the
Indians.

Only seven
set out for
Canada.

After the first Day's Journey we incamp'd on the Bank
 of the River, we had left not long before, lay there that
 Night, and the next Day, cut down Trees to make a Sort of
 Bridge or Planks to pass over it; handing over our Goods

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from one to another, and swimming over our Horses; which Work we were frequently oblig'd to repeat, and as often as we had afterwards Occasion to pass Rivers on our Way, which we held on till the 29th, every Day meeting with some Cottage, and at last, a Hamlet or Village, into which we went, and the *Indian* Inhabitants told us, they were call'd *Nahordikhe*,¹ and that they were Allies to the *Cenis*.

Nahor-
dikhes and
Affony.

We barter'd with them for some Provisions, and their Chief offer'd to go with us as far as the *Assonys*, who were not farther off than about three Leagues, which he accordingly did; but it happening to rain when we came thither, and the *Assonys* having had no Notice before hand, we found but indifferent Reception.

However, we were conducted to the Chief's Cottage; the Elders had Notice given them, they resorted thither, and when our Horses were unloaded, and our Goods plac'd in a Corner of the Cottage, which the Chief had allotted us, we gave them to understand, that our Intention was to go farther, to fetch Commodities to trade with them, at which they were pleas'd. They gave us to eat, and the Elders stay'd some Part of the Evening with us, which made us somewhat Uneasy, and oblig'd us to be upon our Guard; however the Night pass'd without any Disturbance.

The next Morning the Elders came to us again. They had provided Mats without the Cottage, and made Signs to us to go thither and sit down upon them, as we did, leaving two of our Company to guard the Baggage. We repeated to them what we had said the Night before, and made them some Presents of Axes, Knives, Strings of Beads and Rings. They signify'd they were sorry we would go away, and endeavour'd the best they could, to make us sensible of the same Obstacles the others had signify'd to us; but it was all in Vain; however, we stay'd till the first of *June*, all the while bartering and gathering the best stock of Provisions we could.

¹ *Fr.* Nahoudikhe.

The Second, we remov'd from that Cottage, where we had some Jealousy, and went to another, a Quarter of a League from it, where the Chief of it gave us a very good Reception. An old Woman, who was either his Mother, or Governess of the Cottage, took particular Care of us: We were first serv'd at eating, and to keep her in that good Mind, we now and then made her some little Presents, whilst she, by her Care and Kindness, spar'd our Provisions, which were necessary for our Journey.

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Good Entertainment.

A continual Rain oblig'd us to stay there till the 13th. During our Stay, the Natives made several Feasts, to which we were always invited; and at length the Rain ceasing, we resolv'd to set out, notwithstanding all Monsieur *Cavelier* the Priest's Apprehensions, which we surmounted, and directed our Course towards the *N. E.* with two *Indians*, who were to conduct us only a small Way, and who accordingly soon left us, whatsoever Promises we could make them. They departed to return Home, promising they would come to us again. We encamp'd that Night on the Bank of a Rivulet.

The 14th and 15th, we held on our Way, frequently meeting with Sloughs, which very much fatigued us, because we were oblig'd to unload our Horses for them to pass, and prevent their sticking in the Mire and fat Soil, whence we could not have drawn them out, and consequently we were fain to carry all our Luggage on our own Backs.

Bad Ways.

Whilst we halted about Noon, that our Horses might graze, as was usually done by us, we discover'd our two *Assony Indians* returning towards us, at which we were much rejoiced, because they had a better Notion than ourselves of the Way we were to go. We made them eat and smoke, and then set out again.

The 16th, we came to a great River, which we pass'd as we had done the first, and after that, met with very bad Ways.

The 17th, one of our Company being indispos'd, we could

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not set out till Noon, and held on till the 21st, crossing several Sloughs and Rivers, and then one of our *Indians* being out of Order, it oblig'd us to stay on the Bank of a River we had pass'd. The other *Indian* seeing his comrade sick, went a Hunting, and brought a wild Goat; for there are many in that Country. The *Indians* have the Art of dressing the Heads of those Creatures, which they put upon their own, and imitate them so exactly, that they can come very near to them, and then seldom fail of killing. The same Method they use for Turkeys and other wild Fowl, and so draw them close to themselves.

Art to Kill
Goats and
Wild Fowl.

Fine
Meadows.

The 22d, our *Indian* being somewhat recover'd we decamp'd and proceeded along a better Way and Pleasanter Country, than that we had left behind, and as we enquir'd the best we could of those our *Indians*, concerning the Neighbouring Nations and those we were going towards, among others they nam'd to us, that they call'd *Cappa*. M. *Cavelier* told us, he remember'd he had heard his late Brother *Monsieur de la Sale* name that Nation, and say he had seen it as he went from *Canada* towards the *Missisipi*. This put us in Hopes, that we should succeed in our Discovery.

The 23d, being near a Village, we had been in Search of, one of our *Indians* went before, to give Notice of our Arrival. In the mean Time we cross'd most lovely Plains and Meadows, border'd with fine Groves of beautiful Trees, where the Grass was so high, that it hinder'd our Horses going, and were oblig'd to clear the Passage for them.

When we were within Half a League of the Village, we saw an *Indian*, mounted on a large grey Mare, coming along with our Native, to meet us, and were told, that Horseman was the Chief of the Village, attended by some others of the same Place. As soon as that Chief came up to us, he express'd very much Kindness and Affection; we gave him to understand, that we did no Body any Harm, unless we were first attack'd. Then we made him smoke, and when that was done, he made Signs to us to follow him, which

we did, till we came to the Bank of a River, where he again *June 1687*
 desir'd us to stay, whilst he went to give Notice to the
 Elders.

Soon after, a Number of them came, and having join'd
 us, signify'd, that they were come to carry us to their Vil-
 lage. Our *Indians* made Signs, that it was the Custom of
 the Country, and we must submit, and let them do as they
 thought fit. Tho' we were much out of Countenance at
 that Ceremony, seven of the prime Men among them would
 have us mount on their Backs or Shoulders. Monsieur
Cavelier being our Chief, mounted first, and then the rest
 did the same.

*M. Cave-
 lier and the
 rest carry'd
 on the
 Backs of
 Indians.*

As for my own Part, being of a pretty large Size and
 loaded with Cloaths, a Firelock, a Case of Pistols, Powder
 and Ball, a Kettle and other Implements, there is no Doubt
 but I made a sufficient Burden for him that carry'd me, and
 because I was taller than he and my Feet would have hung
 upon the Ground, two other *Indians* held them up for me;
 so that I had three to carry me. Other *Indians* took hold
 of our Horses to lead them, and in that ridiculous Equipage
 we arriv'd at the Village. Our Carriers, who had gone a
 long Quarter of a League, had need enough to rest, and we
 to be set down, that we might laugh in private, for it
 behov'd us to take Care not to do it before them.

As soon as we were come to the Chief's Cottage, where
 we found above two hundred Persons, who were come to
 see us, and that our Horses were unloaded, the Elders gave
 us to understand, that it was their Custom to wash Strangers
 at their first Coming; but that we being clad, they would
 only wash our Faces; which one of those elders did, with
 fair Water they had in a Sort of Earthen Vessel, and he
 only wash'd our Forehead.

*Ceremonies
 at their
 Reception.*

After this second Ceremony, the Chief made Signs to
 us, to sit down on a Sort of little Scaffold, rais'd about 4
 Foot above the Ground, and made of Wood and Canes,
 where when we were plac'd, the Chiefs of the Villages being
 four in Number, came and made Speeches to us, one after
 another.

*Speeches
 made to
 them.*

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another. We listened to them with Patience, tho' we understood not one Word of what they said to us; being tir'd with the Length of their Harangues, and much more with the violent Heat of the Sun, which was just over our Heads.

When the Speeches were ended, the Purport whereof, as near as we could guess, was only to assure us, that we were very welcome; we gave them to understand, that we were going into our own Country, designing to return speedily, to bring them several Sorts of Commodities and such Things as they should stand in need of.

Next, we made them the usual Presents of Axes, Knives, Strings of Beads, Needles and Pins, for their Wives, telling them, that when we return'd we would give them more.

Their Entertainment.

We farther signify'd to them, that if they would afford us some Corn or Meal, we would give them other Things in Exchange, which they agreed to. After this they made us eat *Sagamite*, or Hasty-pudding, Bread, Beans, Pompions and other Things, which we had sufficient Need of. Most of us having scarce eaten any Thing all that Day, some for Want, and others out of Devotion, as Monsr. *Cavlier*, who would observe the Fast of *St. John Baptist's Eve*, whose Name he bore. It is to be observ'd, that the Pompions are incomparably better there, than with us.

The 24th, the Elders met again in our Cottage. We gave them to understand, they would oblige us,¹ in furnishing Guides to conduct us to the Village of *Cappa*, which was in our Way; but instead of granting it, they earnestly intreated us, to stay with them and go to the Wars against their Enemies, having been told Wonders of our Firelocks, which we promis'd to do when we return'd, and that it should be shortly, and they seem'd to rest satisfy'd.

Mr. de Marle drown'd.

Thus our Hopes increas'd, but the Joy it occasion'd was allay'd by a dismal Accident that befell us. Monsieur *de Marle*, one of the prime Men of our Company, having Breakfasted, would needs go Bath himself in the River we

¹ In *Fr.* original, this sentence is in a marginal note. *C. C. ed.*

had pass'd the Day before, and not knowing how to swim, June 1687 he went too far and step'd into a Hole, whence he could not recover himself, but was unfortunately drowned. Young Monsieur *Cavelier*, having been told that Monsieur *de Marle* was going to Bath himself, ran after him, and coming to the River, saw he was drowning, he ran back to acquaint us: We hasted thither with a Number of *Indians*, who were there before us; but all too late, some of them div'd, and brought him up dead from the Bottom of the Water.

We carry'd him to the Cottage, shedding many Tears, the *Indians* bore Part in our Sorrow, and we paid him the last Duties, offering up the usual Prayers; after which he was buryed in a small Field, behind the Cottage; and whereas, during that doleful Ceremony, we pray'd, reading in our Books, particularly Monsieur *Cavelier*, the Priest and Father *Anastadius*, the *Indians* gaz'd on us with Amazement, because we talk'd, looking upon the Leaves, and we endeavour'd to give them to understand, that we pray'd to God for the dead Man, pointing up to Heaven. His Funeral.

We must do this Right to those good People, as to declare, that they express'd singular Humanity upon that doleful Accident, as appear'd by the sensible Testimony of their Actions, and all the Methods they us'd to let us understand how great a Share they bore in our Sorrow; which we should not have found in several Parts of *Europe*. Humanity of the Indians.

During our short Stay in that Place, we observ'd a Ceremony that was perform'd by the Chief's Wife, *viz.* that every Morning she went to Monsieur *de Marle's* Grave, and carry'd a little Basket of parch'd Ears of Corn to lay on it, the meaning whereof we could not understand. Before our Departure, we were inform'd, that the Villages belonging to our Hosts, being four in Number, all ally'd together were call'd, *Assony*, *Natsohsos*, *Nachitos* and *Cadodaquio*. Indian Ceremony to the Dead.

On the 27th, having been inform'd by the Natives, that we should find Canoes, to pass a River that was on our

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Way, Father *Anastasius* and I went to see whether, what they told us was true. We found that River was a Branch of the same we had already pass'd, the Channel of it being pleasant and navigable, and saw some Canoes, in one of which the *Indians* carry'd us over to the other Side, whether we went to see what convenient Place there was for our Horses to come ashore. We found a very proper Place, and returning, made our Report to Monsieur *Cavclier*, who being then much out of Order with Pains in his Feet, we were oblig'd to stay there, till the 30th.

*Janiquo
Nation.*

*Doleful
Entertain-
ment.*

During that Time, we were frequently visited by the *Indians*, both Old and Young, and of both Sexes, and even the Chiefs of the Nation, call'd *Janiquo*, came to see us, and with them we often convers'd in dumb Show, and every Evening the Women, attended by the Warriors, with their Bows and Arrows, resorted to our Cottage, to sing a doleful Sort of Song, shedding Tears at the same Time. This would have given us some Uneasiness, had we not before seen the same Ceremony, and been inform'd, that those Women repair in that Manner to the Chief's Cottage, to intreat him, singing and weeping, to take Revenge on those, who have kill'd their Husbands, or Relations, in former Wars, as I have observ'd before. In all other Respects, the Manners and Customs of this Nation, being much the same as those of the *Cenis*, I shall add no more concerning them.

The 29th, at Night, we gave Notice to the Chief, that we would set out the next Day, we made him some Presents in particular, and the like to his Wife, because she had taken special Care of us, and departed on the 30th. The Chief, attended by many other *Indians*, whom we found in the Cottages on our Way, went to Conduct us as far as the River, which we cross'd in Canoes, and swam over our Horses. There we took Leave of our Conductors, to whom we gave some Strings of Beads for their Wives, and their Chief would needs Conduct us to the next Village.

By the Way we came to a Cottage, where our Guide made us halt, and there they gave us to eat. Then we held

on our Journey to a Village call'd *Cadodaquio*, and were conducted to the Chief's Cottage, who receiv'd us courteously, being a Friend to him that went with us. It was requisite to unload our Horses to lie there, and we signified to the Chief, that we stood in Need of Provisions. He spoke to the Women, who brought us some Meal, which we purchased with Strings of Beads, and the Chief, who conducted us thither, took his Leave.

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*Cadodaquio
Village.*

Having no Design to stay there any Time, we had desired the Chief to appoint some Person to guide us to the Village call'd *Cahainihoua*, which was in our Way. It happen'd by good Fortune, that there were then in that Place some Men and Women of the said Village, who were come to fetch some Wood, fit to make Bows, there being Plenty of that Sort of Trees they make them of, about the Village we were in. We signify'd our Design to them and they gave us to understand they would be glad to bear us Company. In the Conversation we had with them, they made us comprehend, that they had seen People like us, who had Firelocks and a House, and that they were acquainted with the *Cappa's*, which was very pleasing to us. Because they were not to depart till two Days after, we resolv'd to stay for them.

We observ'd, that there was a Difference between the Language of those People and the Inhabitants of the Village we were in, from that of the *Cenis*, and that they had some peculiar Ceremonies, one whereof is, that when the Women have their Terms, they leave the Company of their Husbands and withdraw into other Cottages appointed for that Purpose, which no Person is to come near, upon Pain of being reputed unclean.

*Peculiar
Custom.*

Those Women have their Faces still more disfigur'd, than the others we had seen before; for they make several Streaks, or Scores on them, whereas the others had but one. They adorn themselves with little Locks of fine red Hair; which they make fast to their Ears in the Nature of Pendants. In other Respects they are not disagreeable, and

*Ornaments
of Women.*

July 1687 neither Women nor Maids are so ill-natur'd as to make their Lovers pine for them. They are not difficult of Access, and they soon make a Return for a small Present.

The Men. The Men wear their Hair short, like our *Capucins*, they anoint it with a sort of Oyl, or Grease, and curl it like snails, after which they strew on it a Sort of Down, or Lint, died red, as we do Powder, which is done when they design to be very fine, in order to appear in their Assemblies. They are very fond of their Children, and all the Way of chastising them they use, is to throw Water at them, without ever beating or giving them ill Words.

The *Indians* that were of the Village of *Cohainihoua*¹ and to conduct us thither, not being ready to set out on *Wednesday* the 2d of *July*, as they had promis'd, a young *Indian* offer'd himself, saying, he would conduct us safe thither, and we set out with him, still directing our Course towards the *N. E.* We kept close along the same River we had cross'd, and found it very pleasant and navigable, the Banks of it cover'd with fine Trees of several Sorts.

We had not travell'd above a League, before our Guide gave us to understand, that he had forgot a Piece of hard dry'd Skin he had to make him Shoes, which he would go fetch and return to us, pointing to us with his Hand, which Way we were to go, and telling us we should soon come to a River.

This sudden Change in the *Indian* was somewhat surprizing and very much perplex'd us; however we held on our Way, and soon came to the River he had mention'd to us, which was very pleasant and deep. We cross'd it the next Day, on a Sort of Float, which we made with much Toil and Labour, and our Horses swam over. Some Time after we were passed, we saw the *Indians* coming, who had promised to bear us Company, and were glad to find our Float, to cross the same River, as they did, and proceeded on our Journey all together.

¹ *Fr.* Cahainihouä. [Cf. pp. 90 and 44, and the notes. A marginal note in the *Fr.* calls this tribe *Cahaynahö.*] *C. C. edit.*

The 4th, 5th and 6th, we did the same, crossing a very *July 1687*
 fine Country, but water'd by many Brooks, Streams and
 Rivers. We found Abundance of wild Goats, Turkeys and
 other wild Fowl, whereof our *Indians* kill'd many. *Plenty of Game.*

On the 6th, whilst we halted on the Bank of a River to eat, we heard the Tingling of some small Bells; which making us look about, we spy'd an *Indian* with a naked Sword-Blade in his Hand, adorned with Feathers of several Colours, and two large Hawks Bells, that occasion'd the Noise we had heard.

He made Signs for us to come to him, and gave us to understand, that he was sent by the Elders of the Village, whither we were going, to meet us, carressing us after an extraordinary Manner. I observ'd that it was a Spanish Blade he had, and that he took Pleasure in ringing the Hawks Bells.

Having travell'd about half a League with him, we discover'd a Dozen of other *Indians* coming towards us, who made very much of and conducted us the Village, to the Chief's Cottage, where we found dry'd Bear-Skins laid on the Ground, and they made us sit on them, where we were treated with Eatables, as were the Elders after us, and a Throng of Women came to see us. *Kind Reception.*

The 7th, the Elders came to give us a Visit, bringing us two Bullocks Hides, four Otters Skins, one white Wild-Goat's Skin, all of them well dry'd, and 4 Bows, in Return for the Present we had before made them. The Chief and another came again some Time after, bringing two Loaves, the finest and the best we had yet seen. They look'd as if they had been bak'd in an Oven, and yet we had not observ'd, that there were Ovens among any of them. That Chief stay'd with us some Hours, he seem'd to be very ingenious and discreet, and easily understood our Signs, which were most of the Language we had. Having order'd a little Boy to bring us all we had Occasion for, he withdrew. *Presents.*

Towards the Evening, we were entertain'd with a Ceremony of *The Ceremony of the Pipe.*

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mony we had not seen before. A Company of Elders, attended by some young Men and Women came to our Cottage in a Body, singing as loud as they could roar. The foremost of them had a *Calumet*, so they call a very long Sort of Tabacco Pipe, adorn'd with several Sorts of Feathers. When they had sung a while, before our Cottage, they enter'd it, still singing on, for about a Quarter of an Hour. After that, they took Monsieur *Cavelier* the Priest, as being our Chief, led him in solemn Manner out of the Cottage, supporting him under the Arms. When they were come to a Place they had prepared, one of them laid a great Handful of Grass under his feet, two others brought fair Water in an Earthen Dish, with which they wash'd his Face, and then made him sit down on a Skin, provided for that Purpose.

When Monsieur *Cavelier* was seated, the Elders took their Places, sitting round about him, and the Master of the Ceremonies fix'd in the Ground two little wooden Forks, and having laid a Stick across them, all being painted red, he placed on them a Bullock's Hide, dried, a Goat's Skin over that, and then laid the Pipe thereon.

The Song was begun again, the Women mixing in the Chorus, and the Concert was heightned by great hollow Calabashes or Gourds, in which there were large Gravel Stones, to make a Noise, the *Indians* striking on them by Measure, to answer the Tone of the Choir; and the pleasantest of all was, that one of the *Indians* plac'd himself behind Monsieur *Cavelier* to hold him up, whilst at the same Time he shook and dandled him from Side to Side, the Motion answering to the Musick.

That Concert was scarce ended, when the Master of the Ceremonies brought two Maids, the one having in her Hand a Sort of Collar, and the other an Otter's Skin, which they plac'd on the wooden Forks abovemention'd, at the Ends of the Pipe. Then he made them sit down, on each Side of Monsieur *Cavelier*, in such a Posture, that they look'd one upon the other, their Legs extended and

intermix'd, on which the same Master of the Ceremonies *July 1687* laid Monsieur *Cavelier's* Legs, in such Manner, that they lay uppermost and across those of the two Maids.

Whilst this Action was performing, one of the Elders made fast a dy'd Feather to the back Part of Monsieur *Cavelier's* Head, tying it to his Hair. The Singing still continu'd all that Time, so that Monsieur *Cavelier* grown weary of its Tediousness, and asham'd to see himself in that Posture between two Maids, without knowing to what Purpose, made Signs to us to signify the same to the Chief, and having given him to understand, that he was not well, two of the *Indians* immediately took hold of him under the Arms, conducted him back to the Cottage and made Signs to him to take his Rest. This was about Nine in the Evening, and the *Indians* spent all the Night in Singing, inso-much that some of them could hold out no longer.

In the Morning they return'd to Monsieur *Cavelier*, conducted him again out of the Cottage, with the same Ceremony and made him sit down, still singing on. Then the Master of the Ceremonies took the Pipe, which he fill'd with Tabacco, lighted and offered it to Monsieur *Cavelier*, but drawing back and advancing six Times before he gave it him. Having at last put it into his Hands, Monsieur *Cavelier* made as if he had smok'd and return'd it to them. Then they made us all smoke round, and every one of them whiff'd in his Turn, the Musick still continuing.

About Nine in the Morning, the Sun growing very hot, and Monsieur *Cavelier* being bare Headed, made Signs that it did him Harm. Then at last they gave over singing, and conducted him back into the Cottage, took the Pipe, put it into a Case, made of a Wild-Goat's Skin, with the two wooden Forks and the red Stick that lay across them, all which one of the Elders offer'd to Monsieur *Cavelier*, assuring him that he might pass thro' all the Nations that were ally'd to them by Virtue of that Token of Peace, and should be every where well receiv'd. This was the first Place where we saw the *Calumet*, or Pipe of Peace,

Cahayno-
houa Na-
tion.

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having no Knowledge of it before, as some have writ. This Nation is call'd *Cahaynohoua*.

Indians
expect
Presents.

This Sort of Ceremonies being never perform'd among the *Indians* without the Expectation of receiving some Present, and we having besides observ'd, that some of them had withdrawn themselves, with Tokens of Dissatisfaction, perhaps because we had interrupted their Ceremony, we thought it convenient to give them something more, and I was appointed to carry them an Ax, four Knives and some Strings of Beads, with which they were satisfied.

We afterwards shew'd them an Experiment of our Arms, the Noise and Fire whereof frighted them. They earnestly press'd us to stay with them, offering us Wives and whatsoever else we should want. To be the better quit of them, we promis'd to return, saying we were going to fetch Commodities, Arms and Tools, which we stood in Need of, that we might afterwards stay with them.

The 9th and 10th were spent in Visits, and we were inform'd by one of the *Indians* that we were not far from a great River, which he describ'd with a Stick on the Sand, and shew'd it had two Branches, at the same Time pronouncing the word *Cappa*, which, as I have said, is a Nation near the *Missisipi*. We then made no longer Question, that we were near what we had been so long looking after. We entreated the Elders to appoint some men to conduct us, promising to reward them well, which they granted, and we set out the 11th, to the great Sorrow of those good People, who had entertain'd us so courteously.

The Journey prosecuted.

We travell'd several different Ways, which we could never have found, had we wanted Guides, and so proceeded till on the 12th, one of our Guides pretended to be sick, and made Signs that he would go back; but observing, that we seem'd to be no Way concern'd, which we did on Purpose, he consulted with his Companion, and then came to tell us, he was recover'd. We made him eat and

smoke, and continued our Journey the 13th, finding the July 1687 Way very bad and difficult.

The 14th, our *Indians*, having seen the Track of Bullocks, signify'd they would go kill some, to eat the Flesh, which made us halt for two or three Hours. Whilst we stay'd for our Hunters, we prepar'd some *Sagamite*, or their Sort of Hasty-Pudding. They return'd loaded with Flesh, Part whereof we dress'd, and eat it with very good Stomachs. Then we proceeded on our Journey till the 18th, and by the Way kill'd three Bullocks and two Cows, which oblig'd us to halt, that we might use of our Flesh, drying it.

The Night between the 19th and the 20th, one of our Horses breaking loose, was either taken away by the Natives, or lost in the Woods. That did not obstruct our Departure, tho' the Loss was grievous to us, and we held on our Way till the 24th, when we met a Company of *Indians*, with Axes, going to fetch Barks of Trees, to cover their Cottages. They were surpriz'd to see us, but having made Signs to them to draw near, they came, caress'd and presented us with some Water Melons they had. They put off their Design of going to fetch Bark till another Time, and went along with us, and one of our Guides having gone before in the Morning to give Notice of our coming at the next Village, met with other Parcels of *Indians*, who were coming to meet us, and express'd extraordinary Kindness. *Indians with Axes.*

We halted in one of their Cottages, which they call *Desert*, because they are in the Midst of their Fields and Gardens. There we found several Women who had brought Bread, Gourds, Beans and Water Melons, a Sort of Fruit proper to quench Thirst, the Pulp of it being no better than Water.

We set out again to come to the Village, and by the Way, met with very pleasant Woods, in which, there were Abundance of stately Cedars. Being come to a River, that

July 1687 was between us and the Village, and looking over to the further Side, we discover'd a great Cross, and at a small Distance from it, a House, built after the *French* Fashion. It is easy to imagine what inward Joy we conceiv'd at the Sight of that Emblem of our Salvation. We knelt down, lifting up our Hands and Eyes to Heaven, to return Thanks to the Divine Goodness, for having conducted us so happily; for we made no Question of finding *French* on the other Side of the River, and of their being *Catholicks*, since they had *Crosses*.

A Cross by a River and a French built House.

In short, having halted some Time on the Bank of that River, we spy'd several Canoes making towards us, and two Men cloath'd, coming out of the House we had discover'd, who, the Moment they saw us, fir'd each of them a Shot to salute us. An *Indian* being Chief of the Village, who was with them, had done so before, and we were not backward in returning their Salute, by discharging all our Pieces.

Dwelling of French.

When we had pass'd the River, and were all come together, we soon knew each other to be *French* Men. Those we found were the *Sieurs Couture Charpantier* and *de Launay*, both of them of *Roan*, whom *Monsieur de Tonty*, Governor of Fort St. *Lewis* among the *Islinois*, had left at that Post, when he went down the *Missisipi* to look after *Monsr. de la Sale*; and the Nation we were then with, was call'd *Accancea*.

The Travelers come to the French Habitation.

It is hard to express the Joy conceiv'd on both Sides; ours was unspeakable, for having at last found, what we had so earnestly desired, and that the Hopes of returning to our dear Country, was in some Measure assured by that happy Discovery. The others were pleased to see such Persons as might bring them News of that Commander, from whom they expected the Performance of what he had promis'd them; but the Account we gave them of *Monsr. de la Sale's* unfortunate Death, was so afflicting, that it drew Tears from them, and the dismal History of his Troubles and Disasters render'd them almost inconsolable.

We were conducted to the House, whither all our Baggage was honestly carry'd by the *Indians*. There was a very great Throng of those People, both Men and Women, which being over, we came to the Relation of the particular Circumstances of our Stories. Ours was deliver'd by Monsieur *Cavelier*, whom we honour'd as our Chief, for being Brother to him, who had been so.

We were inform'd by them, that they had been Six, sent by Monsr. *Tonty*, when he return'd from the Voyage he had made down the *Colbert* or *Missisipi* River, pursuant to the Orders sent him by the late Monsr. *de la Sale*, at his Departure from *France*, and that the said *Sieur Tonty* had commanded them to build the aforesaid House. That having never since receiv'd any News from the said Monsr. *de la Sale*, Four of them were gone back to Monsr. *Tonty*, at the Fort of the *Islinois*.

Who the
Frenchmen
were.

In Conclusion, it was agreed among us, to go away as soon as possible, towards the *Islinois*, and conceal from the *Indians*, the Death of Monsieur *de la Sale*, to keep them still in Awe and under Submission, whilst we went away with the first Ships that should happen to sail from *Canada* for *France*, to give an Account at Court of what had happen'd, and to procure Succours. In the mean Time, the Chief of the *Indians* came to invite us to eat. We found Mats laid on the Ground for us to sit on, and all the Village met to see us.

We gave them to understand, that we came from Monsieur *de la Sale*, who had made a Settlement on the Bay of *Mexico*; that we had pass'd thro' many Nations, which we nam'd, and that we were going to *Canada* for Commodities, and would return down the River; that we would bring Men to defend them against their Enemies and then settle among them; that the Nations we had pass'd through had appointed Men to guide us, and we desired the same Favour of them, with some Canoes and Provisions, and that we would reward our Guides and pay for what they furnish'd us.

Kind In-
dians.

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The Conveniency of an Interpreter, we then had, gave us the Opportunity of making ourselves be easily understood, and the Chief answer'd to our Proposals, that he would send Men to the other Villages to acquaint them with our Demands, and to consult with them what was to be done in that Case; that as for the rest, they were amaz'd at our having pass'd thro' so many Nations, without having been detain'd, or kill'd, considering what a small Number we were.

When the Discourse was ended, that Chief caus'd Meat to be set before us, as dry'd Flesh, Bread made of *Indian* Corn of several Sorts, and Water Melons; after which he made us smoke, and then we return'd to our House, where being eas'd of all those Impediments, we gave each other an Account of our Affairs, at Leisure, and were inform'd, that those People impatiently expected¹ the Return of *Monsieur de la Sale*, which confirm'd us in the Resolution of concealing his Death. We observ'd the Situation of that Post, and were made acquainted with the Nature of the Country and the Manners of those People, of which I shall give the following Remarks.

French
House
among the
Acconcea's
describ'd.

The House we were then in, was built of Pieces of Cedar laid one upon another, and rounded away at the Corners; its roof is of bark. It is seated on a small Eminence, half a Musket-shot from the Village, in a Country abounding in all Things. The Plains lying on one Side of it, are stor'd with Beeves, wild Goats, Deer, Turkeys, Bustards, Swans, Ducks, Teal and other Game.

Product of
the Coun-
try.

The Trees produce plenty of Fruit, and very good, as Peaches, Plumbs, Mulberries, Grapes, and Wallnuts. They have a Sort of Fruit they call *Piaguimina*, not unlike our Medlars, but much better and more delicious. Such as live near the Rivers, as that House is, do not want for Fish of all Sorts, and they have *Indian* Wheat, whereof they make good Bread. There are also fine Plains diversify'd with several Sorts of Trees, as I have said before.

¹ *Fr.* "aspiroient grandement" — ardently longed for.

The Nation of the *Accancea's* consists of four Villages. *July 1687*
 The first is call'd *Otsotchove*, near which we were; the second *Toriman*, both of them seated on the River; the third *Tonginga*; and the fourth *Cappa*, on the Bank of the *Missisipi*. These Villages are built after a different Manner from the others we had seen before, in this Point, that the Cottages, which are alike as to their Materials and Rounding at the Top, are long, and cover'd with the Bark of Trees, and so very large, that several of them can hold two hundred Persons, belonging to several Families.

Nation of the Accancea's.

The people are not so neat as the *Cenis*, or the *Assonis* in their Houses, for some of them lie on the Ground, without any Thing under them but some Mats, or a dress'd Hide. However, some of them have more Conveniencies, but the Generality has not.¹ All their Moveables consist in some Earthen Vessels and oval wooden Platters, which are neatly made, and with which they drive a Trade.

Household Stuff.

They are generally very well shap'd and active; the Women are handsome, or at least have a much better Presence than those of the other Villages we pass'd thro' before. They make Canoes all of one Piece, which are well wrought. As for themselves they are very faithful, good natur'd, and Warriors like the rest.

Shape.

The 25th, the Elders being assembled, came to see us, and told the *Sieur Couturc*, that they design'd to sing and dance the *Calumet*, or Pipe; because the others had sung it, some of them to the late *Monsieur de la Sale*, and the rest to *Monsieur Tonty*, and therefore it was but reasonable they should do the same to get a Firelock, as well as the others. *Monsieur Cavelier* was inform'd of it, and it was requisite to consent to it, to please those *Indians*, because we stood in need of them.

The Ceremony of the Pipe perform'd to M. Cavelier.

The Ceremony began with *Monsieur Cavelier*, who was led under the Arms and seated on a Hide, without the Cottage. The Forks, the Skins laid on it in Honour of the

Ceremony of the Pipe.

¹ *Fr.* "Quelques une cependant sont plus proprement; mais generalement, non"—Some nevertheless are more cleanly, but generally they are not.

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Pipe, the Singing as loud as they cou'd roar, both by Men and Women, and all the other Ceremonies were observ'd, as I have mention'd them before; so that Monsieur *Cavelier* being weary of them, he caus'd the Chief to be told, that he was out of Order, and desir'd his Nephew might be put in his Place, which was done accordingly, and they spent the whole Night in Singing. In the Morning they perform'd some other Ceremonies, not worth relating.

The Solemnity being ended, by every Man's smoking of the Pipe, the *Indians* took it, with some *Bullocks Hides*, and *Goats and Otters Skins*, and a Collar made of *Shells*, all which they carry'd to our House, and we gave them a *Firelock*, two *Axes*, six *Knives*, one hundred Charges of *Powder*, as much *Ball*, and some *Strings of Beads* for their *Wives*. The Chief having given Notice of our coming to the other Villages, their *Deputies* came to see us; we entertain'd them in the House, and propos'd to them our *Designs*, as had been done to the Chief. They stood considering a While, then held a Sort of Consultation among themselves, which held not long without talking, and then agreed to grant us what we ask'd, which was a *Canoe* and a *Man* of each Village to conduct us, upon the promis'd Consideration, and so they went away to the Cottage of the Chief of the Village.

The 27th, the Chief and the *Elders* met again to consult about what we demanded of them; the Length of the Journey made them apprehensive for those, who were to conduct us; but, at Length, we having dispell'd their Fears by our Arguments, and they having again deliberated some Time, agreed to our Request. We again made them a Present, promising a good Reward to our Guides, and so we prepar'd to set forwards. Little *Bartholomew* the *Parisian*, having intimated to us, that he would willingly stay in that House, because he was none of the ablest of Body, we recommended him to the *Sieur Couture*. We desir'd those that remain'd there, to keep the Secret of *Monsr. de la Sale's* Death, promis'd to send them Relief,

left them our Horses, which were of great Use to go a July 1687
 Hunting, and gave them fifteen or sixteen Pounds of
 Powder, eight hundred Balls, three hundred Flints, twenty
 six Knives, and ten Axes, two or three Pounds Weight of
 Beads; Monsr. *Cavelier* left them Part of his Linen, hoping
 we should soon be in a Place where we should get more;
 and all of them having made their Peace with God, by *The Jour-*
 Means of the Sacrament of Penance, we took Leave of *ney contin-*
 them, excepting the *Sieur Couture*, who went to conduct us *ued.*
 Part of the Way.

We imbark'd on a Canoe belonging to one of the Chiefs,
 being at least twenty Persons, as well Women as Men, and
 arriv'd safe, without any Trouble, at a Village call'd *Tori-* *Toriman*
man, for we were going down the River. We were well *Village.*
 received in the Chief's wigwam, and were treated as we had
 been when among the others. We propos'd it to these
 People, or rather demanded it of them to confirm what had
 been granted us by the others, and they deferr'd giving us
 their Answer till the next Day; for they do Nothing with-
 out consulting about it, and we having brought a Sack of
Indian Wheat, from the *French* Mens House, desir'd the
 Chief to cause Women to pound it, for which we would
 give 'em Something. Immediately he made a Sign to his
 Officers to go call them, and they went as readily.

There were seven or eight of those Officers always about *Officers.*
 him, stark naked and besmear'd, some after one Fashion,
 and others after another. Each of them had three or four
 Calabashes or Gourds, hanging at a Leather Girdle about
 their Wastes, in which there were several Pebbles, and be-
 hind them hung a Horse's Tail, so that when they ran,
 the Gourds made a ratling Noise, and the Tail being born
 up by the Wind, stood out at its full Length, so that Noth-
 ing could be seen more ridiculous; but it behooved us to take
 Heed of shewing the least Smile.

The remaining Part of the Day was spent in going with *The River*
 the *Sieur Couture* to see the fatal River so much sought *Missisipi*
 after by us, called *Colbert*, when first discover'd, and *found at*
last.

July 1687 *sisipi*, or, *Mechassipi* by the Natives that were near us. It is a very fine River and deep, the Breadth of it about a Quarter of a League, and the Stream very rapid. The *Sieur Couture* assur'd us, that it has two Branches or Channels, which parted from each other above us, and that we had pass'd its other Branch, when we came to the first Village of the *Accancca's*, with which Nation we still were.

*Particular
Ceremonics.*

The 28th, the Chief and the Elders being assembled, they granted our Requests. We were to part, in order to be entertain'd in several Places, where we took Notice of some particular Ceremonies, which we had not seen among the other Nations. One of them is, that they serve up their Meat in two or four large Dishes, which are first set down before the two principal Guests, who are at one End, and when they have eaten a little, those Dishes are shov'd down lower and others are served up in their Place, in the same Manner; so that the first Dishes are serv'd at the upper End and thrust down lower as others come in.

He who treats, does not sit down with the Company, nor does he eat, but performs the Part of a Steward, taking Care of the Dressing and of the Placing of the Meat serv'd up; and to the End he may appear the finer, he never fails to besmear himself with Clay, or some red or black Colouring they make use of.

*Tonningua
Village.*

The 29th, we set out from that Village, and imbarc'd on two Canoes to cross the *Missisipi*. The Chief and about a Score of young Folks bore us Company to the next Village call'd *Tonningua*, seated on the Bank of that River, where we were receiv'd in the Chief's Cottage, as we had been in the others. The Elders treated us in their Turns, and the Descriptions before given will serve for this Place, there being but little Difference between them and their Neighbours.

*Cappa
Village.*

The 30th, we set out for *Cappa*, the last Village of the *Accancca's*, eight Leagues distant from the Place we had left. We were obliged to cross the River *Missisipi* several Times in this Way; because it winds very much, and we

had some foul Weather, which made it late before we could reach *Cappa*. A great Number of Youth came to meet us, some of them conducted us to the Chief's Cottage, and others took Care of our Baggage, which was restor'd to us very honestly. We found the Elders waiting for us; a great Fire was kindled to dry us, and the Cottage was lighted by several burning Reeds,¹ which they make use of instead of Flambeaus; after which we were serv'd as in other Places.

The 31st, we receiv'd Visits from the Elders. Their Discourse ran upon the War they design'd to make, thinking to ingage us in it, and we return'd the same Answer as we had done to the others, that we would soon return with all Things we stood in Need of. We ask'd a Man of them, which was granted, and the Day ended in Feasting.

We would willingly have set out the First of *August*; but the Chief came and told us, it could not be, because the Women had not pounded our Corn, which however was done; but they made use of that Pretence to oblige us to stay, and to have Leisure to give us some Diversion, after their Manner. Accordingly, about Ten in the Morning, the Warriors and Youth came together to Dance. They were dress'd after their best Manner, some of them wearing Plumes of several Colours, wherewith they adorn their Heads, others, instead of Feathers, had two Bullocks Horns, and were all besmear'd with Clay, of Black or of Red, so that they really look'd like a Company of Devils or Monsters, and in those Figures they danc'd, as I have describ'd it, speaking of the other Nations.

The Second, we made ready to be going. The *Indian* given by the first Village for our Guide, would not go any farther. A Man, said to be an Hermaphrodite, offer'd to supply his Place, saying, he was willing to go to the *Islinois*. We took Leave of the *Sieur Couture*, to whom *Monsr. Cavelier* made an Exhortation, encouraging him to per-

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Entertainment given by the Indians.

¹ *Fr.* "des cannes seiches allumées" — dry reeds aflame.

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severe and have Patience, in Hopes of the Relief we wou'd send him, and so we imbark'd on the *Missisipi* in a Canoe, being Nine in Number, that is, five of us, and the four *Indians* that were our Guides. We were oblig'd to cross that River very often, and no less frequently to carry our Canoe and Goods, as well on Account of the Rapidity of the River, and to find it slacker on the one or the other Side of it, which was very troublesome to our Guides, as because of the little islands we met with, which are form'd by the impetuous beating of the Water upon the Banks, that oppose its Course, where the Channels happen not to lie strait; there it washes away the Earth and bears down great Trees, which in Process of Time form little Islands, that divide the Channel. At Night we incamp'd in one of those small Islands, for our greater Safety, for we were then come into an Enemy's Nation, call'd *Machigamea*, which put our *Indians* into great Frights.

Machigamea Nation.

It is certain our Toil was very great, for we were oblig'd to row in the Canoe, to help our *Indians* to stem the Current of the River, because we were going up, and it was very strong and rapid; we were often necessitated to land, and sometimes to travel over miry Lands, where we sunk up half way the Leg; other Times over burning Sands, which scorch'd our Feet, having no Shoes, or else over Splinters of Wood, which ran into the Soles of our Feet, and when we were come to the resting Place, we were to provide Fuel to dress our Meat, and provide all Things for our *Indians*, who would not have done so much as go fetch a Cup of Water, tho' we were on the Bank of the River, and yet we were happy enough in having them.

We proceeded on, continually undergoing the same Toil, till the Seventh, when, we saw the first Bullock, we had met on our Way, since our coming among the *Accancea's*. The *Indians*, who had a great Mind to eat Flesh, made a Sign to me, to go kill it. I pursu'd and Shot, but it did not fall, the *Indians* ran after, kill'd, and came to tell us

it must be parch'd, or dry'd, which was accordingly done. *Aug. 1687*
 I must here take Notice of a Ceremony our *Indians* perform'd, when they came near the Bullock, before they flead him.

In the first Place, they adorn'd his Head with some Swans and Bustards Down, dy'd red, and put some Tobacco into his Nostrils, and between the Clefts of the Hoofs. When they had flead him, they cut out the Tongue, and put a Bit of Tabacco into its Place; then they stuck two Wooden Forks into the Ground, laid a Stick across them, on which they plac'd several Slices of the Flesh, in the Nature of an Offering. The Ceremony being ended, we parch'd or dry'd the best Parts of the Beast and proceeded on our Journey.

*Ceremony
at dressing
a Bullock.*

The 9th, we found the Banks of the River very high, and the Earth of them Yellow, Red and White, and thither the Natives came to furnish themselves with it, to adorn their Bodies, on Festival Days. We held on our Way till the 14th, when we met a Herd of Bullocks, whereof we kill'd five, dry'd Part of them, and proceeded till the 18th.

*Banks of
several
Colours.*

The 19th, we came to the Mouth of the River, call'd *Houabache*, said to come from the Country of the *Iroquois*, towards *New England*. That is a very fine River, its Water extraordinary clear, and the Current of it, gentle. Our *Indians* offer'd up to it, by Way of Sacrifice, some Tabacco and Beef Steaks, which they fix'd on Forks, and left them on the Bank, to be dispos'd of as the River thought fit. We observ'd some other Superstitions among those poor People, one whereof was as follows.

*Houabache
River.*

There were some certain Days, on which they Fasted, and we knew them, when as soon as they awak'd, they besmear'd their Faces and Arms, or other Parts of their Bodies, with a slimy Sort of Earth, or pounded Charcoal; for that Day they did not eat till Ten or Eleven of the Clock at Night, and before they did eat they were to wipe off that Smearing, and had Water brought them for that

Indian Fast.

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Purpose. The Occasion of their Fasting was, as they gave us to understand, that they might have good Success in Hunting, and kill Abundance of Bullocks.

*Salt Water
Spring.*

We held on our Way till the 25th, when the *Indians* shew'd us a Spring of Salt Water, within a Musket Shot of us, and made us go ashore to view it. We observ'd the Ground about it was much beaten by Bullocks Feet, and it is likely they love that Salt Water. The Country about, was full of Hillocks, cover'd with Oaks and Walnut-Trees, Abundance of Plum-Trees, almost all the Plums red and pretty good, besides great Store of other Sorts of Fruits,

Wild Fruit.

whose Names we know not, and among them one shap'd like a midling Pear, with Stones in it as big as large Beans. When ripe it peels like a Peach, the Taste is indifferent good, but rather of the Sweetest.

The 27th, having discover'd a Herd of Beeves, we went ashore to kill some; I shot a Heifer, which was very good Meat, we put a Board the best of it, and held on our Way till the Evening, when we encamp'd on an Island, where we observ'd an alteration in the Humour and Behaviour of our *Indians*. This put us under some Apprehension, and the more, for that he who was reckon'd an Hermaphrodite, told us, they intended to leave us, which oblig'd us to secure our Arms and double our Watch during the Night, for Fear they should forsake us.

*Missouris
River.*

With that Jealousy we proceeded on our Journey the 28th and 29th, coasting along the Foot of an upright Rock, about sixty, or eighty Foot high, round which the River glides. Held on the 30th and 31st, and the first of *September* pass'd by the Mouth of a River call'd *Missouris*, whose Water is always thick, and to which our *Indians* did not forget to offer Sacrifice.

*Figure of a
pretended
Monster.*

The 2d, we arriv'd at the Place, where the Figure is of the pretended Monster spoken of by Father *Marquet*. That Monster consists of two scurvy Figures drawn in red, on the flat Side of a Rock, about eight or ten Foot high, which wants very much of the extraordinary Height that Re-

lation mentions. However our *Indians* paid Homage, by *Sept. 1687* offering Sacrifice to that Stone; tho' we endeavour'd to give them to understand, that the said Rock had no Manner of Virtue, and that we worship'd something above it, pointing up to Heaven; but it was to no Purpose, and they made Signs to us, that they should die if they did not perform that Duty. We proceeded, coasting along a Chain of Mountains, and at length, on the 3d, left the *Missisipi*, to enter the River of the *Islinois*. *River of the Islinois.*

We found a great Alteration in that River, as well with Respect to its Course, which is very gentle, as to the Country about it, which is much more agreeable and beautiful than that about the great River, by Reason of the many fine Woods and Variety of Fruit its Banks are adorn'd with. It was a very great comfort to us, to find so much Ease in going up that River, by Reason of its gentle Stream, so that we all stay'd in the Canoe and made much more Way.

Thus we went on till the 8th, without stopping any longer than to kill a Bullock, and one of our *Indians*, who had a craving Stomach, having eaten some of its Suet hot and raw, was taken very ill, and died of it, as I shall mention in its Place. *Indian dies of eating raw Suet.*

The 9th, we came into a Lake, about half a League over, which we cross'd, and return'd into the Channel of the River, on the Banks whereof we found several Marks of the Natives having been incamp'd there, when they came to fish and dry what they caught. The 10th, we cross'd another Lake, call'd *Primitchouy*, return'd to the River, and the 11th, saw *Indians* before us, incamp'd on the Bank of a River, whereupon we stop'd and made ready our Arms. In the mean Time, one of them came towards us by Land, and we put on our Canoe towards him.

When that *Indian* was near, he stood gazing on us, without speaking a Word, and then drawing still nearer, we gave him to understand, that we were sent by Monsieur *de la Sale*, and came from him. Then he made Signs to us, to advance towards his People, whom, he went before to *Meeting with Islinois.*

Sept. 1687 acquaint with what he had said to him, so that when we were come near them they fired Several Shot to salute us, and we answer'd them with our Firelocks.

After that mutual Salutation, they came into our Canoe, to signify, they were glad to hear News of *Monsieur de la Sale*. We ask'd them, What Nation they were of; they answer'd, They were *Islinois*, of a Canton call'd *Cascasquia*. We enquir'd whether *Monsieur Tonty* was at *Fort Lewis*; they gave us to understand, that he was not, but that he was gone to the War against the *Iroquois*. They invited us Ashore, to go with them to eat of such as they had, we thank'd them, and they brought us some Gourds and Water Melons, in Exchange for which, we gave them some parch'd Flesh.

We had not by the Way taken Notice of a Canoe, in which was a Man with two Women, who, being afraid of us, had hid themselves among the Reeds, but that man seeing us stop among his Countrymen, took Heart, came to us, and having told us, that he belong'd to a Village near *Fort Lewis*, we set out together, and one of our *Indians* went into that Canoe, to help them to shove, so they call the Way of pushing on the Canoe with Poles instead of rowing.

*Fort Lewis
among the
Islinois.*

On *Sunday*, the 14th of *September*, about two in the Afternoon, we came into the Neighbourhood of *Fort Lewis*. Drawing near, we were met by some *Indians* that were on the Bank, who having view'd us well, and understanding we came from *Monsr. de la Sale*, and that we belong'd to him, ran to the Fort to carry the News, and immediately we saw a *French Man* come out, with a Company of *Indians*, who fir'd a Volley of several Pieces, to salute us. Then the *French Man* drew near, and desir'd us to come Ashore, which we did, leaving only one in the Canoe, to take Care of our Baggage; for the *Islinois* are very sharp at carrying off anything they can lay their Hands on, and consequently, nothing near so honest as the Nations we had pass'd thro'.

*Arrival at
Fort Lewis.*

We all walk'd together towards the Fort, and found

three *French* Men coming to meet us, and among them a *Clerk*, who had belong'd to the late *Monsr. de la Sale*, Sept. 1687
nomme Boisrondet. They immediately ask'd us, where *Monsr. de la Sale* was, we told them, he had brought us Part of the Way, and left us at a Place about forty Leagues beyond the *Cenis*, and that he was then in good Health. All that was true enough; for *Monsr. Cavalier* and I, who were the Persons, that then spoke, were not present at *Monsr. de la Sale's* Death; he was in good Health when he left us, and I have told the Reasons we had for concealing his Death, till we came into *France*.

It is no less true, that *Father Anastasius*, and he they call'd *Tcisier*, could have given a better Account, the one as an Eye Witness, and the other, as one of the Murderers, and they were both with us; but to avoid lying, they said Nothing. We farther told them, we had Orders to go over into *France*, to give an Account of the Discoveries made by *Monsieur de la Sale*, and to procure the sending of Succours.

At length, we enter'd the Fort, where we found and surpriz'd several Persons who did not expect us. All the *French* were under Arms and made several Discharges to welcome us. *Monsieur de Belle Fontaine* Lieutenant to *Monsr. Tonty*, was at the Head of them and complimented us. Then we were conducted to the Chappel, where we return'd Thanks to God, from the Bottom of our Hearts, for having preserv'd and conducted us in Safety; after which we had our Lodgings assigned us, *Monsr. Cavalier* and *Father Anastasius* had one Chamber, and we were put into the Magazine, or Ware-house. All this While, the Natives came by Intervals, to fire their Pieces, to express their Joy for our Return, and for the News we brought of *Monsieur de la Sale*, which refresh'd our Sorrow for his Misfortune; perceiving that his Presence would have settled all Things advantageously.

The Day after our Arrival, one of the *Indians*, who had conducted us, having been sick ever since he eat the raw

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Beef Suet, I mention'd before, died, and his Companions took away and bury'd him privately. We gave them the promis'd Reward, and the Part belonging to the Dead Man, to be deliver'd to his Relations. They stay'd some Time in the Fort, during the which, we took extraordinary Care of them, and at last they return'd to their own Homes.

As far as we could gather by half Words dropp'd there by one or other at the Fort, Something had been done there prejudicial to the Service of Monsr. *de la Sale*, and against his Authority, and therefore some dreaded his Return, but more especially a *Jesuit* was in great Consternation. He was sick, Monsieur *Cavelier*, Father *Anastasius* and I went to visit him. He enquired very particularly of all Points, and could not conceal his Trouble, which we would not seem to take Notice of.

Our Design being to make the best of our way to *Canada*, in Order to set out Aboard the first *French* Ships that should Sail for *France*, we enquired how we were to proceed, and met with several Difficulties. The Navigation *Falls in the* on that River was very Dangerous,¹ by Reason of the Falls *River.* there are in it, which must be carefully avoided, unless a Man will run an inevitable Hazard of perishing. There were few Persons capable of managing that Affair, and the War with the *Iroquois* made all Men afraid.

However the *Sieur Boisrondet*, Clerk to the late Monsr. *de la Sale*, having told us he had a Canoe, in which he design'd to go down to *Canada*, we prepared to make use of that Opportunity. Care was taken to gather Provisions for our Voyage, to get Furs to barter as we pass'd by *Micilimaquinay*. The Visits of two Chiefs of Nations, call'd *Cascasquia Peroueria* and *Cacahouanous* discover'd by the late Monsieur *de la Sale*, did not interrupt our Affairs, and all things being ready on the 1st, we took Leave on the 18th, of those we left in the Fort. Monsieur *Cavelier* writ a Letter for Monsieur *Tonty*, which he left there

¹ *Fr.* "difficile"—difficult.

to be delivered to him, and we repair'd to the Lake to Oct. 1687
imbark.

It would be needless to relate all the Troubles and Hardships we met with, in that Journey, it was painful and fruitless, for having gone to the Bank of the Lake, in very foul Weather, after waiting there eight Days, for that foul Weather to cease, and after we had imbark'd, notwithstanding the Storm, we were oblig'd to put Ashore again, to return to the Place where we had imbark'd, and there to dig a Hole in the Earth, to bury our Baggage and Provisions, to save the Trouble of carrying them back to Fort *Lewis*, whither we return'd and arrived there the 7th of *October*; where they were surpriz'd to see us come back.

M. Cavellier, &c. set out and returns again.

Thus were we oblig'd to continue in that Fort all the rest of *Autumn* and Part of the *Winter*, to our great Sorrow, and not so much for our own Disappointment, as for being, by that Means, obstructed from sending of Succours, as soon as we had expected, as well to the said Fort, as to those *French* of our own Company, whom we had left on the Coast of the Bay of *Mexico*.

It was then the good Season for shooting. Those Gentlemen at the Fort had secur'd two good *Indian* Sportsmen, who never let us want for Wild Fowl of all Sorts; besides we had good Bread, and as good Fruit, and had there been any Thing to drink besides Water, we had far'd well. The Leisure we had during our Stay there, gave me an Opportunity of making the following Remarks, as well of my own Observation, as what I learn'd of the *French* residing there.

Fort *Lewis* is in the Country of the *Islinois* and seated on a steep Rock, about two hundred Foot high, the River running at the Bottom of it. It is only fortified with Stakes and Palisades, and some Houses advancing to the Edge of the Rock. It has a very spacious Esplanade, or Place of Arms. The Place is naturally strong, and might be made so by Art, with little Expence. Several of the Natives live in it, in their Huts. I cannot give an Account

Description of Fort Lewis and the Country about it.

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of the Latitude it stands in, for Want of proper Instruments to take an Observation, but Nothing can be pleasanter; and it may be truly affirm'd, that the Country of the *Islinois* enjoys all that can make it accomplish'd, not only as to Ornament, but also for its plentiful Production of all Things requisite for the Support of human Life.

The Plain, which is water'd by the River, is beautified by two small Hills, about half a League distant from the Fort, and those Hills are cover'd with Groves of Oaks, Walnut-Trees and other Sorts I have named elsewhere.

*Lime and
Clay for
Bricks, &c.*

The Fields are full of Grass, growing up very high. On the Sides of the Hills is found a gravelly Sort of Stone, very fit to make Lime for Building. There are also many Clay Pits, fit for making of Earthen Ware, Bricks and Tiles, and along the River there are Coal Pits, the Coal whereof has been try'd and found very good.

Mines.

There is no Reason to question, but that there are in this Country, Mines of all Sorts of Metals, and of the richest, the Climate being the same as that of *New Mexico*. We saw several Spots, where it appeared there were Iron Mines, and found some Pieces of it on the Bank of the River, which Nature had cleansed. Travellers who have been at the upper Part of the *Missisipi*, affirm that they have found Mines there, of very good Lead.

Product.

That Country is one of the most temperate in the World, and consequently whatsoever is sow'd there, whether Herbs, Roots, *Indian* and even *European* Corn thrives very well, as has been try'd by the *Sieur Boisrondet*, who sow'd of all Sorts, and had a plentiful Crop, and we eat of the Bread, which was very good. And whereas we were assured, that there were Vines which run up, whose Grapes are very good and delicious, growing along the River, it is reasonable to believe, that if those Vines were transplanted and prun'd, there might be very good Wine made of them. There is also Plenty of wild Apple and Pear Trees, and of several other Sorts, which would afford excellent Fruit, were they grafted and transplanted.

All other Sorts of Fruit, as Plumbs, Peaches and others, *Oct. 1687*
 wherewith the Country abounds, would become exquisite,
 if the same Industry were us'd, and other Sorts of Fruit
 we have in *France* would thrive well, if they were carry'd
 over. The Earth produces a Sort of Hemp, whereof Cloth
 might be made and Cordage.

As for the Manners and Customs of the *Islinois*, in many *Manners
 and Customs of the
 Islinois.*
 Particulars they are the same as those of the other Nations
 we have seen. They are naturally fierce and revengeful,
 and among them the Toil of Sowing, Planting, carrying
 of Burdens, and doing all other Things that belong to the *Women do
 all Labour.*
 Support of Life, appertains peculiarly to the Women. The
 Men have no other Business but going to the War and
 hunting, and the women must fetch the Game when they
 have kill'd it, which sometimes they are to carry very far
 to their Dwellings, and there to parch, or dress it any other
 Way.

When the Corn or other Grain is sow'd, the Women
 secure it from the Birds till it comes up. Those Birds are
 a sort of Starlings, like ours in *France*, but larger and fly
 in great Swarms.

The *Islinois* have but few Children, and are extremely *Children.*
 fond of them; it is the Custom among them, as well as
 others I have mentioned, never to chide, or beat them, but
 only to throw Water at them, by Way of Chastisement.

The Nations we have spoken of before, are not at all, or *Thieving.*
 very little, addicted to Thieving; but it is not so with the
Islinois, and it behoves every Man to watch their Feet as
 well as their Hands, for they know how to turn any Thing
 out of the Way most dexterously. They are subject to the
 general Vice of all the other *Indians*, which is to boast very *Boasting.*
 much of their Warlike Exploits, and that is the main Sub-
 ject of their Discourse, and they are very great Lyars.

They pay a Respect to their Dead, as appears by their *Care of the
 Dead.*
 special Care of burying them, and even of putting into
 Coffins placed high above the ground, the Bodies of such
 as are considerable among them, as their Chiefs and others,

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which is also practiced among the *Accancea's*, but they differ in this Particular, that the *Accancea's* weep and make their Complaints for some Days, whereas the *Chahouanous* and other People of the *Islinois* Nation do just the Contrary; for when any of them die, they wrap them up in Skins, and then put them into Coffins made of the Barks of Trees, then sing and dance about them for twenty four Hours. Those Dancers take Care to tie Calabashes, or Gourds about their Bodies, with some *Indian* Wheat in them, to rattle and make a Noise, and some of them have a Drum, made of a great Earthen Pot, on which they extend a wild Goat's Skin, and beat thereon with one Stick, like our Tabors.

Presents to the Dead.

During that Rejoicing, they throw their Presents on the Coffin, as Bracelets, Pendants, or Pieces of Earthen Ware, and Strings of Beads, encouraging the Singers to perform their Duty well. If any Friend happens to come thither at that Time, he immediately throws down his Present and falls a singing and dancing like the rest. When that Ceremony is over, they bury the Body, with Part of the Presents, making choice of such as may be most proper for it. They also bury with it, some Store of *Indian* Wheat, with a Pot to boil it in, for fear the dead Person should be hungry on his long Journey; and they repeat the same Ceremony at the Year's End.

Game of the Stick.

A good Number of Presents still remaining, they divide them into several Lots, and play at a Game, call'd of the Stick, to give them to the Winner. That Game is play'd, taking a short Stick, very smooth and greas'd, that it may be the Harder to hold it fast. One of the Elders throws that Stick as far as he can, the young Men run after it, snatch it from each other, and at last, he who remains possess'd of it, has the first Lot. The Stick is then thrown again, he who keeps it then has the second Lot, and so on to the End. The Women, whose Husbands have been slain in War, often perform the same Ceremony, and treat the Singers and Dancers whom they have before invited.

The Marriages of the *Islinois* last no longer, than the Parties agree together; for they freely part after a Hunting Bout, each going which Way they please, without any Ceremony. However, the Men are jealous enough of their Wives, and when they catch them in a Fault, they generally cut off their Noses, and I saw one who had been so serv'd.

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Marriages.

Nevertheless, Adultery is not reckon'd any great Crime among them, and there are Women who make no Secret of having had to do with *French* Men. Yet are they not sufficiently addicted to that Vice to offer themselves, and they never fall, unless they are sued to, when, they are none of the most difficult in the World to be prevail'd on. The rest I leave to those who have liv'd longer there than I.

Adultery.

We continu'd some Time in Fort *Lewis*, without receiving any News. Our Business was, after having heard Mass, which we had the good Fortune to do every Day, to divert our selves the best we could. The *Indian* Women daily brought in something fresh, we wanted not for Water Melons, Bread made of *Indian* Corn, bak'd in the Embers, and other such Things, and we rewarded them with little Presents in Return.

How the Travellers liv'd.

On the 27th of *October*, of the same Year, Monsieur *Tonty* return'd from the War with the *Iroquois*.¹ Our Embraces and the Relation of our Adventures were again repeated; but still concealing from him, the Death of Monsieur *de la Sale*. He told us all the Particulars of that, war, and said, That the *Iroquois* having got Intelligence of the March of the *French* Forces and their Allies, had all come out of their Villages and laid themselves in Ambush by the Way; but that having made a sudden and general Discharge upon our Men, with their usual Cries, yet without much Harm done, they had been repuls'd with Loss, took their Flight, and by the Way burnt all their own

M. Tonty comes to Fort Lewis.

War with the Iroquois.

¹This was the famous expedition of the Marquis de Nonville against the Senecas, in which Tonti, Du Shut and Durontage, came to the aid of the Governor, with 180 French *coureurs de bois* and 400 Indians from the upper lakes.

Oct. 1687 Villages. That Monsieur d' *Hennonville*,¹ chief Governor of *New France*, had caus'd the Army to march, to burn the rest of their Villages, set Fire to their Country and Corn, but would not proceed any farther. That afterwards he had made himself Master of several Canoes belonging to the *English*, most of them laden with Brandy, which had been plunder'd; that the *English* had been sent Prisoners to *Montreal*, they being come to make some Attempt upon the *Islinois*.

Dec. 1687 We continued after this Manner, till the Month of *December*, when two Men arrived, from *Montreal*. They came to give Notice to Monsr. *Tonty*, that three Canoes, laden with Merchandize, Powder, Ball and other Things, were arriv'd at *Chicagou*, that there being two little Water in the River, and what there was being frozen, they could come down no lower; so that it being requisite to send Men to fetch those Things, Monsr. *Tonty* desir'd the Chief of the *Chahouanous* to furnish him with People. That Chief accordingly provided forty, as well Men as Women, who set out with some *French* Men. The Honesty of the *Chahouanous* was the Reason of preferring them before the *Islinois*, who are naturally Knaves.

Feb. 1688 That Ammunition and the Merchandize were soon brought, and very seasonably, the Fort being then in Want. We stay'd there till the End of *February*, 1688, at which Time we fix'd our Resolution to depart, tho' we had no News from *Canada*, as we expected. We found there were some Canoes ready to undertake that Voyage, and we laid hold of that Opportunity to convoy each other to the *Micilimaquinay*, where we hop'd to meet some News from *Canada*.

Mar. 1688 Monsieur *Cavelier* the Priest, had taken Care, before the Death of M. *de la Sale*, his Brother, to get of him a Letter of Credit, to receive either a Sum of Money or Furs in the Country of the *Islinois*. He tender'd that Letter to

¹ The Marquis De Nonville, Governor General of Canada.

M. Tonty, who believing M. de la Sale was still alive, made Mar. 1688 no Difficulty of giving him to the Value of about 4000 Livres in Furs, Castors and Otter Skins, a Canoe and other Effects, for which, the said Monsr. Cavelier gave him his Note,¹ and we prepar'd for our Journey.

I have before observed, that there was a Jesuit, whose name was Dalouez² at Fort Lewis, and who had been very much surpriz'd to hear that Monsr. de la Sale was to come in a short Time, being under great Apprehensions on Account of a Conspiracy intended to have been carry'd on, against Monsr. de la Sale's Interest. That Father perceiv'ing our Departure was fix'd, mov'd first, and went away foremost, to return to Micilimaquinay;³ so that they were left without a Priest at Fort Lewis, which was a great Trouble to us, because we were the Occasion of it, and therefore those, who were to remain in the Fort, anticipated the Time, and made their Easter, taking the Advantage of the Presence of F. Anastasius and M. Cavelier.

At length, we set out the 21st of March, from Fort Lewis. The Sieur Boisrondet, who was desirous to return *The Travel continued.* to France, join'd us, we imbark'd on the River, which was then become navigable, and before we had advanc'd five Leagues, met with a rapid Stream, which oblig'd us to go Ashore, and then again into the Water, to draw along our Canoe. I had the Misfortune to hurt one of my Feet against a Rock that lay under Water, which troubled me very much for a long Time; and we being under a Necessity of going often into the Water, I suffer'd extreamly, and more than I had done since our Departure from the Gulph of Mexico.

We arriv'd at Chicagou the 29th of March, and our first Care was to go seek what we had conceal'd at our former Voyage, having, as was there said, bury'd our Luggage and Provisions. We found it had been open'd, and some Furs

¹ Fr. billet & reconnoissance"—i. e., note and receipt.

² Father Claude Allouez.

³ Michilimackinac.

Mar. 1688

and Linen taken away, almost all which belong'd to me. This had been done by a *French Man*, whom *M. Tonty* had sent from the Fort, during the Winter Season, to know whether there were any Canoes at *Chicagou*, and whom he had directed to see whether any Body had medled with what we had conceal'd, and he made Use of that Advice to rob us.

The bad Weather oblig'd us to stay in that Place, till *April*. That Time of Rest was advantageous for the Healing my Foot; and there being but very little Game in that Place, we had Nothing but our Meal or *Indian Wheat* to feed on; yet we discover'd a Kind of *Manna*,¹ which was a great Help to us. It was a Sort of Trees, resembling our Maple, in which we made Incisions, whence flow'd a sweet Liquor, and in it we boil'd our *Indian Wheat*, which made it delicious, sweet and of a very agreeable Relish.

*Sweet
Water from
a Tree.*

There being no Sugar-Canes in that Country, those Trees supply'd that Liquor, which being boil'd up and evaporated, turn'd into a Kind of Sugar somewhat brownish, but very good. In the Woods we found a Sort of Garlick, not so strong as ours, and small Onions very like ours in Taste, and some Charvel² of the same Relish as that we have, but different in the Leaf.

The Weather being somewhat mended, we imbark'd again and enter'd upon the Lake on the 8th of *April*, keeping to the North Side to shun the *Iroquois*. We had some Storms also, and saw swelling Waves like those of the Sea; but arriv'd safe the 15th at a River call'd *Quinetonan*, near a Village whence, the Inhabitants depart during the Winter Season, to go a Hunting, and reside there all the Summer.

*Quinetanan
River.*

The Sport is not there as in those Countries from whence we came; but on the Contrary, very poor, and we found Nothing but some very lean Wild Goats, and even those very rarely, because the Wolves, which are very numerous there, make great Havock of them, taking and devouring great Numbers after this Manner.

¹ *Fr.* "manne"—maple sap?

² *Fr.* "cerfeüil"—chervil.

When the Wolves have discover'd a Herd of Wild Goats, *Apr. 1688*
 they rouse and set them a running. The Wild Goats never
 fail to take to the first Lake they meet with. The hunting
 Wolves, who are used to that, guard the Banks carefully,
 moving along the Edges of them. The poor Goats being
 pierc'd by the Cold of the Lake, grow weary and so get
 out, or else the River swelling forces them out with its
 Waves, quite benumm'd, so that they are easily taken by
 their Enemies, who devour them. We frequently saw those
 Wolves watching along the Side of the Lake, and kept off
 to avoid frightening them, to the End the Wild Goats might
 not quit their Sanctuary, that we might catch some of them,
 as it sometimes fell out.

*How
Wolves
catch Goats.*

The 28th, we arriv'd among the *Poutouatannus*, which
 is half Way to *Micilimaquinay*, where we purchas'd some
Indian Corn for the rest of our Voyage. We left there
 on the last of the month, and we arrived on the 10th of
May at the said place of *Michilimacinac*. We found no
 News there from *Montreal*, and were forc'd to stay some
 Time to wait an Opportunity to go down the River; No
 Man daring to venture, because of the War with the
Iroquois.

*Poutouatanni
Nation.*

There are some *French Men* in that Place, and four
Jesuits, who have a House well built with Timber, inclosed
 with Stakes and Palisades. There are also some *Hurons*
 and *Outahouacs*, two Neighbouring Nations, whom those
 Fathers take Care to instruct, not without very much
 Trouble, those People being downright Libertines, and
 there are very often none but a few Women in their
 Churches. Those Fathers have each of them the Charge
 of instructing a Nation, and to that Effect have translated
 the Prayers into the Language peculiar to each of them, as
 also all other Things relating to the Catholick Faith and
 Religion.

*Hurons
and Outahouacs
Nations.*

May 1688

They offer'd Father *Anastasius* and Monsieur *Cavelier* *June 1688*
 a Room, which they accepted of, and we took up our Lodg-
 ing in a little Hovel some Travellers had made. There we

July 1688

continued the rest of *May* and Part of *June*, till after the Feast of *Whitsontide*. The Natives of the Country about, till the Land and sow *Indian* Corn, Melons and Gourds, but they do not thrive so well as in the Country we came from. However they live on them, and besides they have Fish they catch in the Lake, for Flesh is very scarce among them.

On the 4th of *June*, there arriv'd four Canoes, commanded by Monsieur *de Porneuf*, coming from *Montreal*, and bringing News from the Marques *d' Hennonville*, and Orders to send to the Settlements which were towards the Lake *des Puans* and others higher up, towards the Source of the River *Colbert*, to know the Posture and Condition of Affairs. We prepar'd to be gone with the two Canoes. Monsieur *Cavelier* bought another, to carry our Baggage, and left Part of his Furs with a Merchant, who gave him a Note to receive Money at *Montreal*. I did the same with those few Furs I had, the rest of them having been left at *Micilimaquinay*.

We took Leave of the *Jesuits*, and set out in four Canoes, *viz.* two belonging to Monsieur *de Porneuf*, and two to Monsieur *Cavelier*, one of which had been brought from Fort *Lewis*, and the other bought, as I have just now said, we being twenty-nine of us in those four Canoes. We sail'd on till the 24th, when Monsieur *de Porneuf* left us to go to St. *Mary's* Fall, to carry the Orders given him. The 25th, we got out of the Lake of the *Islinois*, to enter that of the *Hurons*, on the Banks whereof stands the Village, call'd *Tessalon*, where Monsieur *de Porneuf* came again to us, the 27th, with a Canoe of the Natives, and with him we held on our Way.

Islinois
and Hu-
rons.

French
River.

We proceeded to *Chebonany* the 30th of *June*, and the 3d of *July*, enter'd the *French* River, where we were forc'd several Times to carry our Canoes to avoid the Falls and the rapid Streams, observing as we went a barren and dry Country, full of Rocks, on which there grow Cedars and Fir Trees, which take Root in the Clefts of those Rocks.

The 5th, we enter'd upon the little Lake of *Nipicingue*, *Aug. 1688*
 adjoining to a Nation of that Name. We got out of it again the 7th, and enter'd upon the great River, where, after having pass'd the great Fall, we arriv'd the 13th, at the Point of the Island of *Montreal*. We landed at a Village call'd *la Chine*, which had belong'd to the late Monsr. *de la Sale*. Monsr. *Cavelier* set out the 14th, for *Montreal*, where we came to him the 17th.

*Nipicingue
Lake.*

*Arrival at
Montreal.*

At *Montreal* we found the Marques *d' Hennonville*, Monsieur *de Noroy* the Intendant and other Gentlemen, to whom we gave an Account of our long and painful Travels, with the Particulars of what we had seen, which they listned to with Satisfaction, but without mentioning Monsieur *de la Sale's* Death. We told them the Occasion of our going over into *France*, and they approv'd of it, being of Opinion with us, that we ought to hasten our Departure as much as possible.

We made us some Cloaths, whereof we stood in Need. The Sieur *Tessier*, who came along with us, and was of the Reform'd Religion, knowing the Exercise of it was forbid in *France*, abjur'd it in the great Church of *Montreal*.

The 27th, we went aboard a Bark to go down the River to *Quebec*, where we arriv'd the 29th, Father *Anastasius* carry'd us to the Monastery of the Fathers of his Order, seated half a League from the Town, on a little River, where we were most kindly receiv'd by the Father Guardian and the other Religious Men, who express'd much Joy to see us, and we still more for being in a Place of Safety, after so many Perils and Toils, for which we return'd our humble Thanks to Almighty God, our Protector.

*Arrival at
Quebec.*

We chose rather to take up our Lodging there than in the Town, to avoid the Visits and troublesome Questions every one would be putting to us with much Importunity, which we must have been oblig'd to bear patiently. Monsieur *Cavelier* and his Nephew, whom we had left at *Montreal*, arriv'd some Days after us, and were lodg'd in the Seminary.

Aug. 1688

We stay'd in that Monastery till the 21st of *August*, when we imbark'd on a large Boat, eighteen Persons of us, to go down the River of *St. Lawrence*, a Board a Ship, that was taking in and fishing of Cod, in order to reach *France*. We went a Board it the 30th of the same Month, and after hearing Mass, made ready and sail'd for our dear Country, arriv'd safe at *Rochelle* on *Saturday* the 9th of *October* 1688, whence, setting out by Land, *Friday* the 15th, the same Providence, which had protected and conducted us, brought us without any Misfortune to *Roan*, the 17th of *October*, the same Year.

*The End of the JOURNAL.*¹

¹ The concealment of the fact of La Salle's death, which was maintained by this party of survivors, until, and for some time after, their return to France, gave rise to an heroic manifestation of courage and friendship, by the Chevalier Tonti, who had been left in charge of Fort Louis on the Illinois.

Although they had been, on their journey northward, to Canada, the guests of that officer at Fort St. Louis, from September, 1687, till the end of February, 1688, they had made no disclosure of that fact. And, it was not until some months later, that Tonti heard of it, from the lips of one of his own men, Conture by name, who had been left at the Arkansas, and who had been told of it by the Abbe Cavelier himself. Meanwhile Tonti had received from and paid over to his reverend guest an order from La Salle for over 2,500 livres in beaver and supplies, on which money the party had made their further journey homeward.

Learning now, for the first time, with what grief and indignation we may well imagine, of the death of his beloved friend and chief; and also that the Arkansas Indians were anxious to join with the French in an invasion of Mexico — which information was also followed by an official notification from the Governor of Canada, that war had again been declared against Spain, Tonti decided to rescue, if possible, the remaining members of La Salle's party on the Gulf coast; and, by making them the nucleus of a small army, to cross the Rio Grande, and thus win a new province for France.

Leaving the fort early in December, in a canoe, with five Frenchmen, an Indian warrior and two other Indians, he reached the home of the Caddoes in Red River, by the last of March, 1688, and was preparing to push on to a village eighty miles distant in search of Hiens and his companions, when he was left almost helpless by the refusal of all his men, except one Frenchman and the Indian warrior, to longer pursue the tiresome journey they had thus far made. But, with the two faithful ones, he pushed on, losing nearly all their ammunition in crossing a river, and finding, upon reaching the village where he had expected to find them, that they had been killed. As his ammunition was lost, and the Indians refused to furnish him guides, he could

The Remainder of the LETTER, written by him who revis'd this JOURNAL, the other Part whereof is at the Beginning of it, this being the Sequel to the said JOURNAL.

THREE several Authors have given an Account of this Voyage; *First*, Father *le Clerk*, upon the Relations he had from the Fathers *Zenobius* and *Anastadius*, *Recolets*, as he was himself and both of them Eye-Witnesses: *Secondly*, The Chevalier *Tonty*, who was also a Witness to a considerable Part of those Adventures: And, *Lastly*, Father *Hennepin*, a *Flemming*, of the same Order of the *Recolets*, has done it more largely; he seems to be well

Note, That these have writ of those Parts, but none of this particular Voyage.

only return to the Arkansas country which he only reached by the end of July, after traversing a flooded country, in a ceaseless rain, sometimes by wading, sometimes by rafts, breaking their way with hatchets through the inundated cane brakes, and finally having to kill and eat their dogs. Even *Tonti*, the hero of many such emergencies of travel, confessed, "I never in my life suffered so much." Then followed an attack of fever, after the abatement of which he arrived at his fort, in September, 1689. This heroic attempt marks, more distinctly than any other, the character of *Tonti*, who, in the language of the missionary, *St. Cosmo*, who traveled under his escort in 1699, was "beloved by all voyageurs—the man who best knows the country—he is loved and feared everywhere." *Tonti* was a robust man in appearance, and had (as has been already said) but one hand, but he truly had a great soul within him—Courageous, generous and loyal. Though holding a captain's commission, he had, as late as 1690, never received any pay; but in that year the proprietorship of the Fort *St. Louis* of the *Illinois* was granted to him jointly with *La Forest*, *La Salle's* then lieutenant—and there they carried on a fur trade; and in 1699, they were granted further privileges of trade, by a royal proclamation. In 1702, a royal order assigned *La Forest* to *Canada*, and *Tonti* to residence on the *Mississippi*. *Tonti*, in that year, joined *D'Iberville* in *Lower Louisiana*, and was by him sent to secure the alliance of the *Chickasaws*. His after career or the time of his death are unknown.

Never were mutiny, conspiracy and assassination more signally and justly followed by retribution than in the fate of these miscreants who had murdered *La Salle*—as graphically portrayed by *Parkman* (*La Salle & the Discovery of the Great West*, ii, pp. 212-216. *Champlain edition*.) Exiled, by their own deeds, from *Canada*; in fear of their Spanish neighbors, whose dominion they had invaded, they were finally overwhelmed by an Indian attack, many of them butchered and the fort laid waste. Compulsory domestication among their savage captors was the fate of the rest; and when, in 1689 the Spanish general *Alonzo de Leon* visited the ruined fort of *St. Louis* in *Texas*, they were handed over to him, and expiated their sins in the naval service or prisons of *Spain*.

acquainted with the Country, and had a Share in great Discoveries; but the Truth of his Relations is much controverted. It was he who went to the Northward, and towards the Source of the *Missisipi*, which he calls *Mechisipi*, and who printed, at *Paris*, an Account of the Country about the River, giving it the Name of *Louisiana*. He ought to have stopp'd there, and not to have gone, as he did, into *Holland*, to set forth another Edition, very much enlarg'd, and perhaps not so true, which he dedicated to *William* the Third, Prince of *Orange*, and afterwards King of *Great Britain*. An Action for a Religious Man no less ridiculous than extravagant, not to give it a worse Name; for after many great and tedious Encomiums given that Protestant Prince, he exhorts and conjures him to turn his Thoughts towards those vast Countries, as yet unknown, to conquer them and send Colonies thither, to make known to those Savage Nations the true God and his Worship, and to preach the Gospel. That good Religious Man, whom many have falsly thought, on Account of that Extravagancy, to have renounc'd his Religion, did not consider what he said, and consequently has scandaliz'd the Catholics, and furnish'd the *Hugonots* with Matter of Laughter; for it is likely, that they being Enemies to the *Roman* Church, would employ *Recolets* to go preach up *Popery*, as they call it in *Canada*? Or would they introduce any other Religion than their own? Can Father *Hennepin* be excuseable in this Point?

In fine it appears, by all that has been writ by those several Persons concerning that Enterprize, that the Murder committed on the Person of Monsieur *de la Sale* was the Occasion of its miscarrying; but that which obstructed the making of some Provision in that Case was, the said Murders being conceal'd for the Space of two Years, and that the *Spaniards* of *Mexico* having been inform'd of all the Affair, sent Men, who carry'd off the weak Garrison Monsieur *de la Sale* had left in the Fort built by him, near the

M. de la
Sale's Fort
taken by
the Span-
iards.

Place of his Landing, before he penetrated into the Country, to find out the *Missisipi*. They also entirely raz'd that Fort, so that Seven or Eight Years elaps'd, till Monsieur *de Hiberuille*, a Gentleman of *Canada*, and a Person of Capacity and Courage, famous for his notable Expeditions to *Hudson's Bay* and other Parts, resolv'd to reassume and revive that Project. He came over into *France* upon that Design, and made an Armament about the Year 1698, set out and sail'd to the Gulf of *Mexico*. Being an able Seaman, he search'd along the Coast so narrowly, that he found the Mouth of that fatal *Missisipi* and built a Fort on it, leaving Men there, with a good Quantity of Ammunition and Provisions, and return'd to *France*, intending to go back with a Reinforcement, as he did, and having penetrated far into the Country, discover'd several Savage Nations, and join'd Friendship and Alliance with them, as also built another Fort, which he left well stor'd with Men and Necessaries, return'd into *France*; but attempting a third Voyage, he dy'd by the Way, and thus, for want of Relief and Support, that noble Enterprize miscarry'd again.

M. de Hiberuille's Expedition for the *Missisipi*.

But God has now provided for it, and it is the Concern of Heaven, for if *France* is interested on Account of the Temporal Advantages it expects, the Church is so in like Manner, for the Conversion of the *Indians* it hopes will follow. Accordingly, Providence has taken the Affair in Hand, having rais'd the Man, who is the fittest to revive and support so important a Project. This is Monsieur *Crozat*, Secretary to the King, a Man of singular Worth, very Intelligent, Well-meaning, and prodigiously Rich, who without going out of his Closet, has been the Occasion of many notable Voyages by Sea, and all of them successful. To him, his Majesty, by his Letters Patent, bearing Date the 14th of *Septemb.* 1712. has granted the sole Power to trade and settle Colonies in the Countries describ'd in this Journal, and which are known to us by the Name of *Louisiana* and the River *Missisipi*, from hence forward to be call'd

M. Crozat only to plant Colonies and Trade in Louisiana.

the River of St. *Lewis*. The Grant is made to him for 15 Years, under several Conditions mention'd in the said Letters Patent, which have been made publick.

And whereas such a Grant cannot subsist without Blacks, he is also allow'd to send a Ship to *Guinea* to purchase them. They may perhaps find there the famous Black *Aniaga*, Brother to a King of *Guinea*, whom Captain *Delbee* brought over into *France*, above Thirty Years ago. The King was pleas'd to have him Educated, Instructed and Baptiz'd, the *Dauphin*¹ being his Godfather; then put him into his Troop of Musquetiers, and afterwards made him a Captain in his own Regiment, where he serv'd Honourably. Being desirous to see his own Country again, where he promis'd to promote the *French* Trade, and the settling of Missioners, his Majesty loaded him with Presents, and order'd a Ship to carry him back to *Guinea*; but as soon as he was there, he no longer remember'd he had been baptiz'd, and turn'd again as perfect a Black, as he had been before. A Friend of mine, who was an Officer aboard a Ship, and hapned to be on that Coast in the Year 1708, had two or three Interviews with that Black, who came aboard him. He was a great Man in that Country, for his Brother was King. He express'd much Gratitude for the Kindness that had been shewn him in *France*, and was extraordinary Courteous, and made great Offers to those aboard the Ship, and to all such of the Nation as would go into *Guinea*.

This Navigation to *Louisiana* will farther procure us a free Resort to the two famous Ports of the Gulf of *Mexico*, viz. The *Havana* and *Veracruz*, where Strangers did not use to be admitted, and which we knew only by their Names and their Situation in our Maps.

The latter of those Towns is the Port of *New Spain*, at the Bottom of the Bay or Gulf, in 18 Degrees of *North* Latitude, Seated in a Sandy Plain, encompass'd with

¹ The eldest son of Louis XIV, who had died a year or two before the publication of the *Fr.* original of this Journal. *C. C. ed.*

*A Black
bred in
France
turns to his
Native
Customs.*

*Veracruz
in New
Spain.*

Mountains; beyond which there are Woods and Meadows, well Stock'd with Cattle and wild Fowl: the flesh whereof is stringy and tasteless. The Air is very Hot, and not Healthy, when any Winds blow, except the *North*, which rises commonly once in Eight or Fifteen Days, and holds for the Space of Twenty Four Hours, blowing so hard, that there is no going ashore from the Ships, and then the Cold is very piercing. When the Weather is clear there plainly appear, on the Road to *Mexico*, two Mountains rising above the Clouds, and forty Leagues distant, all cover'd with Snow. The Streets of *Veracruz* are streight as a Line; the Houses are handsome and regular; the Fortifications next the Land inconsiderable, but the Front of the Town next the Sea forms a Semicircle, with a little Fort at each End. Directly before that Front, a Quarter of a League out at Sea, there stands, on a Spot of Ground, inaccessible, by Reason of the Breaking of the Sea, a strong Citadel, well built and furnished with all Necessaries, a good Garrison and double Batteries of two hundred Pieces of brass Cannon. Ships cannot anchor any where, but between that Citadel and the Town; besides that, it requires several Precautions, because it is difficult coming to an Anchor.

Most of the Inhabitants are *Mulattoes*, that is of a tawny dark Colour, who live most upon Chocolate and Sweetmeats, extraordinary sober, and eating little Flesh. The Men are haughty, the Women keep retired above Stairs, not to be seen by Strangers, and seldom going abroad, and then in Coaches or Chairs, and those who cannot reach to it, cover'd with fine silk Veils, which reach from the Crown of their Heads to their Feet, leaving only a small Opening on the Right Side,¹ for them to see their Way. In their own Apartments they wear nothing but a Smock and a silk Petticoat, with gold or silver Laces, without any Thing on their Heads, and their Hair platted with Ribbons, a gold

¹ *Fr.* "overture au droit de l'œil"—opening opposite the eye.

Chain about their Neck, Bracelets of the same and Pendants of Emeralds in their Ears. They could well enough like the Behaviour and Company of the French, but that the jealous Temper of the Men obstructs them. There being a Picture of *Philip* King of *Spain*, now reigning, aboard the Ship in which my Friend was, who gave me this Account, the People swarm'd aboard to see it, they were never satisfy'd with gazing at it, and there was a most magnificent Festival kept in the Town, on Account of the Birth of the Prince of *Asturias*.

They understand Trade very well, but are sloathful and averse to Labour, fond of State and Ease. They wear great Strings of Beads about their Necks, their Houses are full of Pictures and Images of Devotion, and they have little that is real. They are decently furnish'd with Purceline and *China* Goods. The Churches are magnificently adorned with Plate. But the Lives and Manners of the Clergy are not Edifying. On Holidays and *Sundays* there is no Thought of Matins, of Sermon, or of Vespers: People chat and laugh in the Churches as well as in the Processions, which are often at Night by the Light of Torches.

All Strangers are forbid Trading there, yet some come by Stealth and deal Underhand, by Means of Presents made to such Persons as can favour them. If those Mulattoes call themselves white, it is only to honour themselves and by Way of Distinction from their Slaves, who are all Blacks, and having got much Mony by their Labour, ransom themselves and sometimes become considerable Merchants.

Mexico
City.

The City of *Mexico*, Capital of the Country and the Residence of the Vice-roy, is about eighty Leagues distant from *Veracruz*, to the Westward, the Way to it very bad and ill furnish'd with Provisions. That Country would be better in some Parts, if the people had the skill and energy to till it. They sow but little of our Wheat, and are satisfied

with *Indian Corn*¹ and *Cassabi Root*, whereof they make Cakes, as is practis'd in the Islands. Their Trees and Fruits are the same as in other hot Countries. About the Town of *Veracruz*, there are Bushes of a Sort of Thorn, without Leaves, among which grows an extraordinary Plant; for tho' it has but a small Stem, it shoots out Leaves of a Cabbage Green, as thick as a Man's Finger, which grow out, one at the End of another, in the Shape of a Racket, and the Plant itself is so call'd. From those Leaves there grows out a Sort of red Figs, very juicy, with Seeds like those of the Pomgranate; the Juice is of a Violet Colour, but unsavoury. There is a Sort of Flies that cleave to it and are so fond of the Taste of the Fruit, that they burst and drop down dead. They are carefully gather'd and dry'd, and are the Scarlet Dye, call'd *Cochinilla*, which is brought into *Europe*, and makes that beautiful Colour. The Birds and Beasts are much the same as in other Countries of *America*. There is a Sort of Bird, all red, which for that Reason is call'd the *Cardinal*; this they often tame and teach to sing like a *Canary Bird*. This is what I have been told concerning the Town of *Veracruz*.

As for the *Havana*, a Town and Port no less famous, in the Island of *Cuba*, belonging as well as the other to the Crown of *Spain*, it stands towards the Western End, and on the North Side of that Island, almost under the Tropic of *Cancer*, and about four or five hundred Leagues on this Side of *Veracruz*. It is large and beautiful; the Port good, secur'd by two Forts on the two Sides, and good artillery, from twenty four to thirty six Pounds, the Entrance so narrow, that only one Vessel can go in at once. The Town is encompass'd by a good Wall, fortify'd with five Bastions, furnish'd with Cannon. The Streets are all as strait as a Line, and level, the Houses very handsome, but ill furnish'd. In the Midst of it is a fine Square, the

¹ *Fr.* "du gros mil"—coarse millet.

Buildings about all uniform. The Churches are magnificent, and enrich'd with Gold and Silver, Lamps, Candlesticks, and Ornaments for the Altars. There are some Lamps curiously wrought, which weigh two hundred Marks of Silver, [each Mark being half a Pound.]¹ The Revenue of the Bishoprick amounts to more than fifty thousand Crowns, and he who enjoy'd it in the Year 1703, as I was inform'd by my Friend, who gave me this Account of what he had seen, was the greatest Ornament of that City, for his Virtues and Charity, being satisfy'd with Necessaries, and spending all the rest upon the Poor, and in repairing decay'd Churches. Tho' Strangers are prohibited to trade there, yet it is easier carried on than at *Veracruz*. The Inhabitants are more familiar; the Women have more Liberty, yet they do not go Abroad without their Veils to wrap and hide them. Many of them speak *French*, and dress after the *French* Fashion, and some of our Nation have settled themselves there. When my Friend was there, a magnificent Festival was celebrated for fifteen Days successively, in Honour of K. *Philip* the Fifth, and Monsieur *du Casse* being then there, with his Squadron, the City desir'd him to join with them. To that Purpose, he set ashore five hundred Men, who perform'd the Martial Exercise in the great Square, which was much admir'd. The *Havana* is the Place, where the Galeons meet. By this word should not be understood ships of extraordinary size; for most of them are but very inconsiderable craft which *Spanish* vanity strives to magnify by a swelling name. But if these ships are not great, their precious freight is so. For all that, this city, the gateway to the treasures of the *West Indies*, is full of beggars — but it is by their own fault, and by their idleness that they are such. Provisions are dear there, especially Bread; but the Wine is not, tho' it is good. Fish and Flesh there, are unsavory. The Inhabitants are *Spaniards*.

¹ Bracketed words not in the French original.

We have thought fit to describe those two famous Ports of the Bay of *Mexico*, as well because it has not been so exactly done before, as in Regard that the Settlement which is going to be made in *Louisiana*, may have some Dependance on them; for the *Havana* lying in the Way, those who perform the Voyage may have the Conveniency of taking in Refreshments there, of putting in for Shelter in foul Weather, and of careening or refitting. As for the *Vera-cruz*, tho' farther out of the Way, the Correspondence there may be advantageous for the Securing of the Colony of *Louisiana*.

But how can that fail of succeeding, under the Conduct of Monsieur *Crozat*, who has the Charge of that Enterprize, and whom Providence seems to have in a Manner ingag'd to advance in Wealth and Honour, to the Amazement of the World, and yet free from Envy, from Jealousy, and from any Sort of Complaints. There is therefore no Reason to presage otherwise than well of the Event of this Affair; the Blessings God has pour'd down upon all his former Undertakings, seem to be a Security for what is to follow. There is Reason to hope for still greater Blessings on this Project of a Settlement in *Louisiana*, as being equally advantageous to Religion and the State; for the propagating of the Knowledge and Service of God among an infinite Number of Savages, by Means of the Missioners, who are to be sent to and maintain'd in those vast Countries; the Planting of the Faith in that New World, only the Name whereof is known to us, and the Reducing of it to be a Christian and a *French* Province, under the Dominion of our August Monarch, and to the eternal Memory of his Reign, will be the Consequences and the Fruits of Monsieur *Crozat's* Care and Expence, the Glory of his Enterprize, the Security of the large Fortune he has made in this Life, and what is rare among such rich Men, the Earnest of much better in the Next. Heaven grant our Hopes and Wishes may be answer'd.

I am, &c.

The Letters Patent granted by the King of France to M. Crozat.

LOUIS, by the Grace of God, King of *France* and *Navarre*: To all who shall see these present Letters, Greeting. The Care we have always had to procure the Welfare and Advantage of our Subjects having induced us, notwithstanding the almost continual Wars which we have been obliged to support from the Beginning of our Reign, to seek for all possible Opportunities of enlarging and extending the Trade of our American Colonies, *We did in the Year 1683 give our orders to undertake a Discovery of the Countries and Lands which are situated in the Northern Part of America, between New France and New Mexico: And the Sieur de la Sale, to whom we committed that Enterprize, having had Success enough to confirm a Belief that a Communication might be settled from New France to the Gulph of Mexico by Means of large Rivers; This obliged us immediately after the Peace of Ryswick to give Orders for the establishing a Colony there, and maintaining a Garrison which has kept and preserved the Possession, we had taken in the very Year 1683 of the Lands, Coasts and Islands which are situated in the Gulph of Mexico, between Carolina on the East, and Old and New Mexico on the West.* But a new War having broke out in Europe shortly after, there was no Possibility, till now, of reaping from that new Colony the Advantages that might have been expected from thence, because the private Men, who are concerned in the Sea Trade, were all under Engagements with other Colonies, which they have been obliged to follow: And whereas upon the Information we have received concerning the Disposition and Situation of the said Countries known at present by the Name of the Province of *Louisiana*, we are of Opinion that there may be established therein a considerable Commerce, so much

the more advantageous to our Kingdom in that there has hitherto been a Necessity of fetching from Foreigners the greatest Part of the Commodities which may be brought from thence, and because in Exchange thereof we need carry thither nothing but Commodities of the Growth and Manufacture of our own Kingdom; we have resolved to grant the Commerce of the Country of *Louisiana* to the *Sieur Anthony Crozat* our Councillor, Secretary of the Household, Crown and Revenue, to whom we entrust the Execution of this Project. We are the more readily inclined hereunto, because his Zeal and the singular Knowledge he has acquired in maritime Commerce, encourage us to hope for as good Success as he has hitherto had in the divers and sundry Enterprizes he has gone upon, and which have procured to our Kingdom great Quantities of Gold and Silver in such Conjunctions as have rendered them very welcome to us.

FOR THESE REASONS being desirous to shew our Favour to him, and to regulate the Conditions upon which we mean to grant him the said Commerce, after having deliberated this Affair in our Council, Of our certain Knowledge, full Power and Royal Authority, We by these Presents, signed by our Hand, have appointed and do appoint the said *Sieur Crozat* solely to carry on a Trade in all *the Lands* possessed by Us, and bounded by New Mexico, and by the Lands of the English of Carolina, *all the Establishment, Ports, Havens, Rivers, and principally the Port and Haven of the Isle Dauphine, heretofore called Massacre; the River of St. Lewis, heretofore called Mississippi, from the Edge of the Sea as far as the Illinois; together with the River of St. Philip, heretofore called the Missourys, and of St. Jerome, heretofore called Ovabache, with all the Countries, Territories, Lakes within Land, and the Rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that Part of the River of St. Lewis.*

The ARTICLES.

I. Our Pleasure is, that all the aforesaid Lands, Countries Streams, Rivers and Islands be and remain comprised under the Name of *The Government of Louisiana, which shall be dependant upon the General Government of New France*, to which it is subordinate; and further, that all the Lands which we possess from the *Islinois* be united, so far as Occasion requires, to the General Government of *New France*, and become Part thereof, reserving however to Ourselves the Liberty of enlarging as We shall think fit the Extent of the Government of the said Country of *Louisiana*.

II. We grant to the said *Sieur Crozat* for Fifteen successive Years, to be reckon'd from the Day of Inrolling these presents, a Right and Power to transport all Sorts of Goods and Merchandize from *France* into the said Country of *Louisiana*, and to traffick thither as he shall think fit. We forbid all and every Person and Persons, Company and Companies of what Quality or Condition soever, and under any Pretence whatever, to trade thither, under Penalty of Confiscation of Goods, Ships, and other more severe Punishments, as Occasion shall require; for this Purpose we order our Governours and other Officers commanding our Troops in the said Country forcibly to abet, aid and assist the Directors and Agents of the said *Sieur Crozat*.

III. We permit him to search for, open and dig all Sorts of Mines, Veins and Minerals throughout the whole Extent of the said Country of *Louisiana*, and to transport the Profits thereof into any Port of *France* during the said Fifteen Years; and we grant in Perpetuity to him, his Heirs, and others claiming under him or them, the Property of, in and to the Mines, Veins and Minerals which he shall bring to bear, paying us, in Lieu of all Claim, the Fifth Part of the Gold and Silver which the said *Sieur Crozat* shall cause to be transported to *France* at his own Charges into what Port he pleases, (of which Fifth we will run the Risque of the Sea and of War,) and the Tenth Part of

what Effects he shall draw from the other Mines, Veins and Minerals, which Tenth he shall transfer and convey to our Magazines in the said Country of *Louisiana*.

We likewise permit him to search for precious Stones and Pearls, paying us the Fifth Part in the same Manner as is mention'd for the Gold and Silver.

We will that the said *Sieur Crozat*, his Heirs, or those claiming under him or them the perpetual Right, shall forfeit the Propriety of the said Mines, Veins and Minerals, if they discontinue the Work during three Years, and that in such Case the said Mines, Veins and Minerals shall be fully reunited to our Domaine, by Virtue of this present Article, without the Formality of any Process of Law, but only an Ordinance of Re-union from the Subdelegate of the Intendant of *New France*, who shall be in the said Country, nor do we mean that the said Penalty of Forfeiture in Default of working for three Years, be reputed a Comminatory Penalty.

IV. The said *Sieur Crozat* may vend all such Merchandize, Goods, Wares, Commodities, Arms, and Ammunition as he shall have caused to be transported into the said Country and Government of *Louisiana*, as well to the *French*, as *Savages* who are or shall be there settled; nor shall any Person or Persons under any Pretence whatsoever be capable of doing the like without his Leave expressed in Writing.

V. He may purchase in the said Country, all Sorts of Furs, Skins, Leather, Wool, and other Commodities and Effects of the said Country, and transport them to *France* during the said Fifteen Years: And as our Intention is to favour, as much as we can, our Inhabitants of *New France*, and to hinder the Lessening of their Trade, we forbid him Trafficking for Castor in the said Country under any Pretence whatsoever; nor to Convey any from thence into our Kingdom or Foreign Countries.

VI. We Grant to the *Sieur Crozat*, his Heirs or those claiming under him or them, the Property of, in and to all

Settlements and Manufactories which he shall erect or set up in the said Country for Silk, Indigo, Wooll, Leather, Mines, Veins and Minerals, as likewise the Property of, in and to the Lands which he shall cause to be Cultivated, with the Mansions, Mills, and Structures which he shall cause to be built thereon, taking Grants thereof from Us, which Grants he shall obtain upon the Verbal Process and Opinion of our Governor and of the Subdelegate of the Intendant of *New France* in the said Country, to be by him Reported unto Us.

We will that the said *Sieur Crozat*, his Heirs, or those claiming under him or them, shall keep in Repair the said Settlements, Manufactures, Lands and Mills; and in Default thereof during the Space of three Years, he and they shall Forfeit the same, and the said Settlements, Manufactories, Lands and Mills shall be Reunited to our Domaine fully and amply, and in the same Manner as is mentioned above in the Third Article concerning the Mines, Veins and Minerals.

VII. Our Edicts, Ordinances and Customs, and the Usages of the Mayoralty and Shreevalty of *Paris*, shall be observed for Laws and Customs in the said Country of *Louisiana*.

VIII. The said *Sieur Crozat* shall be oblig'd to send to the said Country of *Louisiana* Two Ships every Year, which he shall cause to set out in the proper Season, in each of which Ships he shall cause to be imbark'd, without paying any Freight, 25 Tun of Victuals, Effects and necessary Ammunition, for the Maintenance of the Garrison and Forts of the *Louisiana*; and in Case we should cause to be laden above the said 25 Tun in each Ship, we consent to pay the Freight to the said *Sieur Crozat*, at the common Merchantile Rates.

He shall be oblig'd to convey our Officers of *Louisiana* in the Ships which he shall send thither, and to furnish them with Subsistance and a Captain's Table for 30 Sols per Day, which we will cause to be paid for each.

He shall likewise give Passage in the said Ships, to the Soldiers, which we shall please to send to the said Country; and we will cause the necessary Provisions for their Subsistence to be furnish'd to him, or will pay him for them at the same Price as is paid to the Purveyor-General of our Marine.

He shall be furthermore oblig'd to send on Board each Ship, which he shall cause to set out for the said Country, Ten young Men or Women, at his own Election.

IX. We will cause to be deliver'd out of our Magazines to the said Sieur *Crozat*, 10000 Weight of Gunpowder every Year, which he shall pay us for at the Price that it shall cost us, and this for so long Time as the present Privilege shall last.

X. The Wares and Merchandize which the said Sieur *Crozat* shall consign to the said Country of *Louisiana* shall be exempt from all Duties of Exportation, laid or to be laid, on Condition, that his Directors, Deputies or Clerks, shall engage to give within the Space of a Year, to be reckon'd from the Date thereof, a Certificate of their Unlading in the said Country of *Louisiana*; under Penalty, in Case of Contravention, to pay the Quadruple of the Duties, reserving to our selves the Power of giving him a longer Respite in such Cases and Occurrences as we shall think proper.

XI. And as for the Goods and Merchandize, which the Sieur *Crozat* shall cause to be brought from the said Country of *Louisiana*, and upon his Account, into the Ports of our Kingdom, and shall afterwards cause to be transported into Foreign Countries, they shall pay no Duties either of Importation or Exportation, and shall be deposited in the Custom-House, Warehouses of Ports where they shall arrive, until they be taken away; and when the Deputies and Clerks of the said Sieur *Crozat* shall be minded to cause them to be transported in Foreign Countries, either by Sea or Land, they shall be oblig'd to give Security to bring within a certain Time, a Certificate from the last Office,

containing what they Exported there, and another Certificate of their unloading in Foreign Countries.

XII. In Case the said *Sieur Crozat* be obliged, for the furtherance of his Commerce to fetch from Foreign Countries some Goods and Merchandize of Foreign Manufacture, in order to T R A N S P O R T them into the said Country of *Louisiana*. He shall make Us Acquainted therewith, and lay before Us States thereof; upon which we, if we think fit, will Grant him our Particular Permission with Exemptions from all Duties of Importation and Exportation, Provided the said Goods and Merchandize be Deposited afterwards in our Custom-House Ware-houses until they be Laden in the Ships of the said *Sieur Crozat*, who shall be obliged to bring in one Year, to be reckoned from the Day of the Date hereof, a Certificate of their unloading in the said Country of *Louisiana*, under Penalty, in Case of Contravention, to pay quadruple the Duties: Reserving to our selves, in like Manner, the Liberty of granting to the said *Sieur Crozat*, a longer Respite, if it be necessary.

XIII. The Feluccaes, Canoes, and other Vessels belonging to us, and which are in the said Country of *Louisiana*, shall serve for loading, unloading and transporting the Effects of the said *Sieur Crozat*, who shall be bound to keep them in good Condition, and after the Expiration of the said Fifteen Years shall restore them, or a like Number of equal Bulk and Goodness, to our Governor in the said Country.

XIV. If for the Cultures and Plantations which the said *Sieur Crozat* is minded to make he finds it proper to have Blacks in the said Country of the *Louisiana*, he may send a Ship every Year to trade for them directly upon the Coast of *Guinea*, taking Permission from the *Guinea* Company so to do, he may sell those Blacks, to the Inhabitants of the Colony of *Louisiana*; and we forbid all other Companies and Persons whatsoever, under any Pretence whatsoever, to introduce Blacks or Traffick for them in the said

Country, nor shall the said *Sieur Crozat* carry any Blacks else where.

XV. He shall not send any Ships into the said Country of *Louisiana* but directly from *France*, and he shall Cause the said Ships to Return thither again; the whole under Pain of Confiscation and Forfeiture of the Present Priviledge.

XVI. THE said *Sieur Crozat* shall be obliged, after the Expiration of the first nine Years of this Grant, to Pay the Officers and the Garrison which shall be in the said Country During the Six last Years of the Continuance of this Present Priviledge: The said *Sieur Crozat* may in that Time propose and nominate the Officers, as Vacancies shall fall, and such Officers, shall be Confirmed by us, if we approve of them.

Given at *FONTAINBLEAU* the Fourteenth Day of September in the Year of Grace 1712. And of Our Reign the 70th.

SIGNED *LOUIS*

By the KING

PHELIPEAUX, &c.

Registered at *PARIS* in the Parliament, the Four and Twentieth of September, 1712.

Discovery of the Mississippi.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TRAVELS OF NICOLET, ALLOÛEZ, MARQUETTE, HENNEPIN, AND LA SALLE IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

The pioneer of French travellers to the country west of the great lakes, and the first white man who is reputed to have reached a northern tributary of the Mississippi, was Jean Nicolet, who in 1634, or thereabouts, made treaties with the Indians at Green Bay, and ascended Fox River.

The "Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, 1640," Paris, 1641, gives the earliest indication of this voyage, and a summary description is given in the Relation of 1642-43. These reports are reprinted in the "Relation des Jésuites," vol. i., Québec, 1858. Margry's "Découvertes et établissements des Français," vol. i., pp. 47-53, contains the portions of the above which refer to Nicolet, and a translation of the account in the Relation of 1640 is printed in Smith's "History of Wisconsin," vol. iii. Du Creux's "Historia Canadensis," Paris, 1664, gives the first connected history of the life and exploits of this explorer. A translation of Du Creux's narrative is appended to Butterfield's "History and Discovery of the Northwest, by John Nicolet," Cincinnati, 1881.

Shea states, in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," that Nicolet descended the Wisconsin to the Mississippi. This opinion was adopted by Parkman in his "Jesuits in North America," p. 166, but his later judgment is given in the "Discovery of the Great West." A more careful examination of the evidence demonstrates the improbability that his travels extended farther than the Wisconsin, and in the opinion of Butterfield, the latest writer upon this voyage, he did not reach that river, but stopped at the country of the Mascoutins upon Fox River.

Benjamin Sulté, a Canadian historical writer, in writing upon Nicolet, in his "Mélanges d'Histoire et de Littérature," Ottawa, 1876, shows, for the first time, that this journey was probably made in 1634, instead of 1638 or 1639, as before thought.

Sulté's article with notes by L. C. Draper, is printed in the "Wisconsin Historical Society Collections," vol. viii., pp. 188-194; also in the "Canadian Antiquarian," vol. viii., pp. 157-164.

Butterfield, who has carefully investigated the records, agrees with Sulté in assigning 1634 as the true date, and brings out additional, if not conclusive evidence to support this theory, in his monograph cited

above. Margry, in the "Journal de l'Instruction publique," 1862, under the caption, "Les Normands dans les Vallées de l'Ohio et du Mississipi," describes Nicolet's travels and Gravier's "Découvertes et établissements de la Salle;" Harrisse's "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de la Nouvelle France," and Parkman's "La Salle," also give some account of the expedition.

In 1642 Jogues and Raymbault, two missionaries, penetrated as far west as Sault Ste. Marie, at the outlet of Lake Superior. See account of this mission in the Jesuit Relation of 1642. Margry's Collection, vol. i., pp. 45-47, contains a reprint of the narrative of this journey. See also Shea's Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 137, for notice of the undertaking.

The next recorded visit to the West is that of two French traders, who wintered upon the shores of Lake Superior in 1658. See the Jesuit Relation of 1659-60, and the extract in Margry's Collection, vol. i., pp. 53-55, and translation in Smith's Wisconsin, vol. iii., p. 20. Father Ménard began a mission at St. Theresa Bay, Lake Superior, in 1661. See Lallemand's letter in the Relation of 1662-63. A translation of this letter is in Smith's Wisconsin, vol. iii. See also Perrot's "Mémoire sur les mœurs des sauvages," Paris, 1864; Shea's Charlevoix, vol. i., p. 49, and a note by Shea in *Historical Magazine*, vol. viii., p. 175. Ménard's letter, written just before his departure for Lake Superior, with notes by E. D. Neill, may be found in the "Minnesota Historical Society Collections," vol. i., pp. 135-138.

In 1665, Claude Alloüez, another missionary, began a mission at Chegoimegon, Lake Superior. See the journal of his travels in Le Mercier's Relation of 1666-67, a translation of which is in Smith's Wisconsin, vol. iii. Marquette took charge of this mission in 1669, and Alloüez went to the Baie des Puantes (Green Bay), and in 1670 made a visit to the Mascoutins on Fox River. Harrisse thinks he crossed to the Wisconsin at this time. In reporting his operations, Alloüez describes the "Messi-sipi" from information given by the Indians. See Dablon's Relation of 1669-70, p. 100. Translation in Smith's "Wisconsin," vol. iii.

Allouëz spent many years among the Indians upon Green Bay, and in the Illinois country. See the Jesuit Relations covering the years 1669-79. The full titles of these Relations are given in chronological order in Harrisse's "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de la Nouvelle France." Dr. Shea printed in the Cramoisy series the abridged Relations for 1672-79, and Martin's "Mission du Canada" prints them for the first time in full. Shea gives a life of Alloüez in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi." See also notes upon him in Margry's *Découvertes*, etc., vol. i., pp. 57-72; also in Bancroft, in Shea's Charlevoix, vol. iii., and in Shea's "Catholic Missions in the United States." Gravier and Parkman also give some account of his travels.

In June, 1671, St. Luson, in the presence of a large number of Indians, took possession of the country on the lakes in the name of France. The "Procès verbal" of the ceremony is in Margry, vol. i., pp. 96 *et seq.*

Perrot, a noted Canadian *voyageur*, in 1670-71 travelled along the shores of Green Bay. Perrot's journal, which records the daily events of his life among the Indians from 1665 to 1726, was edited for the first time at Paris, in 1864, by Father Tailhan. It is entitled "Mémoires sur les mœurs et coutumes et religion [sic] des sauvages de l'Amérique septentrionale." Tailhan's notes add value to the work. See regarding Perrot, Shea's Charlevoix, vol. iii., p. 165, and *Historical Magazine*, vol. ix., p. 205.

A description of the geography of the country as known previous to the exploration of the Mississippi by Joliet and Marquette is given by Dablon in the "Relation de la Nouvelle France, les années 1670 et 1671," Paris, 1672. See the Quebec reprint in "Relation des Jésuites," vol. iii. The Relation, as printed in 1672, gave a map of the great lakes; for a description of which see Parkman's "La Salle," p. 450.

In 1673 Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet navigated the Mississippi in canoes to the Arkansas. Father Marquette's narrative of the voyage, in an imperfect form, was published by Thevenot in his "Recueil de Voyages," Paris, 1681. Thevenot also published it as an independent work, with the title, "Voyage et découverte de quelques pays et nations de l'Amérique septentrionale." In this latter shape it was reproduced by Rich, at Paris, in 1845. The map accompanying this version, and which is inserted in fac-simile in Bancroft, is said not to be by Marquette. The authentic map was first published in Shea's "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," where the two maps are compared. The Thevenot text appears translated in French's "Historical Collections of Louisiana," pt. 2, pp. 279-297, and Spark's "Life of Marquette," in the "Library of American Biography," vol. x., is, in a measure, a translation of it.

Marquette's complete journal, prepared for publication, in 1678, by Claude Dablon, Superior of the Canadian Missions, remained inedited until Shea published it in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," New York, 1853, giving the original text and a translation. This version, known as the *St. Marie* text, was reprinted in 1855, with important annotations, by Shea, under the title, "Récit des voyages et des découvertes du R. P. J. Marquette, en l'année 1673, et aux suivantes; la continuation de ses voyages par C. Alloüez, et le journal autographe, du P. Marquette en 1674 et 1675." [Albanie: Imprimerie de Weed, Parsons et Cie.] 1855 (10), 169 (2), pp. Map, 12mo. Martin's "Mission du Canada, Relations inédites (1672-1679)," vol. ii., contains a modified version of the *St. Marie* text. Hennepin's spurious "New

Discovery," London, 1698 and 1699, has, as an appendix, a poor translation of the Thevenot production.

Joliet, while on his way to Montreal to report his discoveries, lost his memoranda and maps. He was enabled, however, to draw up a brief recital from memory, which, with a map, he presented to Frontenac in 1674.

Two versions of this narrative are printed in Margry's Collection, vol. i., pp. 259-270. Dablon despatched to his Superior at Paris an account derived from Joliet's verbal testimony, which may be found printed in Martin's "Mission du Canada," vol. i., pp. 193-204. A translation is given in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. v., pp. 237-239. A letter sent by Joliet from Quebec, October 10, 1674, briefly recounts his late adventures. It may be found in HARRISSE'S "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de la Nouvelle France," pp. 322 and 323. A narrative based upon Joliet's report is appended to Hennepin's "New Discovery," London, 1698.

Joliet made several maps, showing his discoveries, only one of which has been edited. Gravier's "Étude sur une carte inconnue, la première dressée par L. Joliet en 1674," contains a fac-simile of the map in question. A letter from the discoverer to Frontenac is inscribed upon it. Gravier considers this map, apparently with good reason, to be the earliest representation of the course of the Mississippi from personal knowledge.

Frontenac's letter announcing the successful result of Joliet's mission is printed in Margry, vol. i., p. 257, and a translation is inserted in the "New York Colonial Documents," vol. ix., p. 116. See the following for notices of Joliet: Faillon's "Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada," vol. iii.; Ferland's "Notes sur les registres de Notre-Dame;" Margry's articles in the *Revue Canadienne*, December, 1871, January, March, 1872. French's Historical Collections, second series, has a brief biography. The works hereafter cited upon the history of the discovery of the Mississippi necessarily include a history of the Marquette-Joliet expedition.

We now come to La Salle, Hennepin, and Tonty, 1669-87. Margry's "Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale, 1614-1698," Paris, 1879-81, contains the documents which the editor collected in the archives of France. This work now comprises four large octavo volumes, three of which are mainly devoted to documents upon La Salle's explorations. The contents of these three volumes are arranged under the following heads: 1re partie, "Voyages des Français sur les grands lacs et Découverte de l'Ohio et du Mississippi (1614-1684);" 2me partie, "Lettres de La Salle;" 3me partie, "Recherche des bouches du Mississippi (1669-1698)." The more important of these papers are indicated hereafter in their chrono-

logical order. The fourth volume of this collection embraces the documents relating to D'Iberville's colony, at the mouth of the Mississippi, 1698-1703.

In 1669 La Salle, accompanied by Dollier and Gallinée, set out from Montreal to discover the Mississippi. They proceeded in company to the western extremity of Lake Ontario. At this place La Salle, professing illness, parted from the missionaries, ostensibly to return to Montreal. Dollier and Gallinée continued their journey along the northern shores of Lake Erie, thus taking a course hitherto untravelled, and reached Sault Ste. Marie in May, 1670, having spent the winter on the shores of Lake Erie. Gallinée's journal, entitled "Récit de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le voyage de MM. Dollier et Gallinée," is printed in Margry, vol. i., pp. 112-166. The Abbé Faillon, who first discovered the records of this journey, gives a synopsis of Gallinée's recital, with a fac-simile of his map, in the third volume of his "Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada."

O. M. Marshall's pamphlet, entitled "The First Visit of La Salle to the Senecas," Buffalo, 1874, contains a textual translation of this document. The Société historique, of Montreal, published in 1875 an edition of this journal, with notes by the Abbé Verreau. Margry prints in his collection, vol. i., pp. 342-402, a narrative which he calls "Récital d'un ami de l'Abbé de Gallinée." This purports to be notes, taken by the writer, who Margry thinks was the Abbé Renaudot, of conversations had with La Salle at Paris in 1678, in which he recounted his adventures in Canada from 1667 to 1678. In it is stated that after leaving Dollier and Gallinée, instead of going to Montreal, La Salle kept on until he reached the Ohio, and later went to the Mississippi by way of the Illinois. Parkman prints extracts from this paper in his "Discovery of the Great West," but does not credit it wholly; he, however, admits that La Salle discovered the Ohio, and most likely the Illinois. It is upon this document, that Margry bases his claim that La Salle was the first to reach the Mississippi.

The following writers take issue with Margry: Brücker, "J. Marquette et la Découverte du Mississippi," Lyon, 1880, and in the "Études religieuses," vol. v.; HARRISSE, in "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de la Nouvelle France," Paris, 1872; in an article entitled "Histoire critique de la Découverte du Mississippi," in the *Revue maritime et coloniale*, vol. xxxii, pp. 642-663.

Shea, in whom Margry finds perhaps his most strenuous opponent, discusses the question in an address read on the bi-centennial of Marquette's voyage, published in the "Wisconsin Historical Society Collections," vol. vii., pp. 111-122. He has, however, published a pamphlet, in which he examines the matter more in detail, entitled "The Bursting of P. Margry's La Salle Bubble," New York, 1879. Tailhan, in notes

to Perrot, and the Abbé Verreau in his edition of Gallinée's journal, also refute Margry. Colonel Whittlesey's tract, forming No. 38 of the Western Reserve Historical Society's publications, entitled "Discovery of the Ohio by La Salle, 1669-70," is an inquiry upon the subject. Margry presents his arguments in full, in articles upon "Les Normands dans les vallées de l'Ohio et du Mississippi," published in the *Journal général de l'Instruction publique*, Paris, 1862. See also a paper by him in the *Revue maritime et coloniale*, vol. xxxiii., pp. 555-559; his pamphlet, "La Priorité de La Salle sur le Mississippi," Paris, 1873; a letter in the *American Antiquary*, vol. i., pp. 206-209, Chicago, 1880, and in remarks in the preface to his "Découvertes et établissements des Français," vol. i.

Gravier in his "Découvertes de La Salle," Paris, 1870, in the "Compte rendu of the Congrès des Américanistes," 1877, pt. i., pp. 237-312, and in *The Magazine of American History*, vol. viii., p. 305, supports the Margry theory.

In August, 1679, La Salle having completed his arrangements and obtained letters patent from the king for another attempt upon the Mississippi, set sail in the Griffon, upon Lake Erie, and arrived at Michillimackinac about two weeks later. The Illinois was reached in January, 1680, but owing to adverse circumstances, La Salle being compelled, for want of supplies and other causes, to make twice the journey between the Illinois and Canada, the exploration of the Mississippi was not accomplished until April, 1682. The adventures of La Salle's party upon the great lakes and in the Illinois country, previous to the voyage down the Mississippi in 1682, are recounted with minute detail in the "Relation des Descouvertes et des Voyages du Sieur de La Salle, 1679-81," printed in Margry's Collection, vol. i., pp. 435-594.

Margry considers this paper to be the official report drawn up by the Abbé Bernou from La Salle's letters. The account of the journey to Fort Crevecoeur in 1679-80, given in this narrative, is nearly identical with the description of the same voyage in Hennepin's "Description de la Louisiane." For this reason Margry charges Hennepin with plagiarism, which calls out a defence of the latter by Shea, in his edition of Hennepin's "Louisiana," where the two narratives are compared. Membre's journal in Le Clercq's "Premier Établissement de la Foy," Paris, 1691, which is reproduced in English in Shea's "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," and Tonty's Memoirs, which will be more fully described farther on, also report this stage of the explorations. Hennepin's spurious "Nouvelle Découverte" also contains an account, which does not differ materially from that given in the "Description de la Louisiane."

Mathieu Sâgean, who claimed to have been with La Salle in 1679-80, dictated from memory, in 1701, a report of his adventures in Canada.

See Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 658, concerning Sâgean's pretensions. Shea published Sâgean's narrative in 1863, with the title, "Extrait de la Relation des aventures et voyage de M. Sâgean."

In February, 1680, Hennepin, by La Salle's orders, set out from Fort Crevecoeur for the upper Mississippi. He ascended that river to the Sioux country, and discovered St. Anthony's Falls. Hennepin's first work, "Description de la Louisiane," Paris, 1683, relates the events of this expedition, and also gives an account of La Salle's journey from Canada to the Illinois in 1679-80. Shea gives in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi" the portion of this work relating the voyage to the upper Mississippi. Hennepin's works are held in disrepute, owing to undoubted plagiarisms and falsifications which characterize some of them. Shea, however, shows in the preface to his edition of the "Description of Louisiana," New York, 1880, that this charge applies only to the "Nouvelle Découverte" and "Nouveau Voyage," and other works made up from these two last, and that they were probably published without Hennepin's sanction. Parkman agrees with Shea in considering the "Description de la Louisiane" to be an authentic work.

For criticisms upon Hennepin, see Sparks' "La Salle;" Parkman's "Discovery of the Great West;" HARRISSE'S "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de la Nouvelle France," p. 145; and the preface to MARGRY'S *Découvertes*, etc. Shea's early judgment upon Hennepin, which he has modified as indicated above, is given in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi." E. D. NEILL, in a pamphlet entitled "The Writings of L. Hennepin," lately published by the Minnesota Historical Society, dissents from Shea's exculpation of Hennepin, and declares that no evidence has been produced to clear him from the charge of plagiarism.

The bi-centenary of Hennepin's discovery of St. Anthony's Falls was celebrated by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1880, and the proceedings on the occasion will be reported in the next volume of its collections. The account of a pretended voyage by Hennepin down the Mississippi, taken from the spurious "New Discovery," London, 1698, is inserted in "French's Historical Collections," part I., pp. 195-222; also in volume one of the "Archæologia Americana," published by the American Antiquarian Society. The latter work also contains an account of La Salle's last voyage, taken from the same unreliable source.

Shea's edition of Hennepin's "Louisiana" contains a bibliography of the numerous memoirs, issued under Hennepin's name, where also may be found a translation of La Salle's letter of August, 1682, reporting the voyage on the upper Mississippi. Du L'hut, who, in 1679, visited the Sioux near Lake Superior, and later descended the St. Croix to the Mississippi and rescued Hennepin from the Sioux, gives an account

of his adventures in a "Mémoire sur la Découverte du pays des Nadouecioux dans le Canada," which is printed in HARRISSE'S Notes, pp. 177-181, and translated in SHEA'S HENNEPIN.

The "Procès verbal de prise de possession de la Louisiane, à l'embouchure de la mer ou Golphe du Mexique, 9 avril, 1682," in MARGRY, vol. ii., pp. 186-193, gives the principal incidents of the voyage down the Mississippi from the Illinois. This document may also be found in GRAVIER'S "La Salle," and in English in SPARKS' "Life of La Salle," also in FRENCH'S "Historical Collections," part i., and with the title, "Narrative of the Expedition of La Salle to explore the (Mississippi) Colbert River, in 1682," in FRENCH'S Historical Collections, second series, pp. 17-27, New York, 1875.

La Salle's letter, written at the junction of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, printed in MARGRY, vol. ii., pp. 164-180, a translation of which is given in *The Magazine of American History*, vol. ii., pp. 619-622, describes the journey to the Missouri.

The procès verbal of the act of taking possession at the Arkansas, March 13 and 14, 1682, in MARGRY, vol. ii., p. 181, reports another stage of the voyage. MEMBRÉ'S journal of the entire expedition, first printed in LE CLERCQ'S "Établissement de la Foy," Paris, 1691, is reproduced in English in SHEA'S "Discovery of the Mississippi." SHEA has lately brought out an English translation of LE CLERCQ under the title, "First Establishment of the Faith in New France," New York, 1881, two vols. 8vo. He there compares MEMBRÉ'S narrative with HENNEPIN'S "Nouvelle Découverte" and "Nouveau Voyage," and also points out the variations between it and the account published by THOMASSY in his "Géologie pratique de la Louisiane."

THOMASSY'S document is entitled, "Relation de la Découverte de l'embouchure de la Rivière Mississippi." PARKMAN considers it to be the "official report of the discovery made by La Salle, or perhaps for him by MEMBRÉ," and says that the LE CLERCQ narrative is based upon it.

To which SHEA replies, that it "seems strange to assume that the fuller document given by LE CLERCQ must be drawn from a shorter form."

The two documents are essentially identical, and afford trustworthy data upon the voyage.

According to BOIMARE, a manuscript copy of MEMBRÉ'S journal exists in the library at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

HENRI DE TONTY, who was with La Salle from 1678-83, reports the explorations during that time, in a memoir written at Quebec in 1684, which is published for the first time in MARGRY, vol. i., pp. 571-616. Another narrative by him, entitled "Mémoire envoyé en 1693 sur la Découverte du Mississippi, par de La Salle en 1678, et depuis sa mort par le sieur de Tonty," is printed in its integrity in MARGRY'S "Relations et Mémoires inédits," pp. 1-36, Paris, 1867. A translation of it

is included in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 52-83, and also in Falconer's "Mississippi," London, 1844. These two memoirs formed the basis of the work published under Tonty's name, but which he disavowed, entitled "Dernieres découvertes dans l'Amérique septentrionale de M. de La Salle," Paris, 1697.

This work was reproduced under the title of "Relation de la Louisianne" in Bernard's "Recueil de voyages au Nord," Amsterdam, 1720 and 1724.

An English translation was published at London in 1698, with the title, "An Account of La Salle's Last Expedition and Discoveries," and is reproduced in part in the New York Historical Society Collections, vol. ii., pp. 217-341.

Parkman says that the "Dernieres découvertes" is "a compilation full of errors."

Margry prints in vol. i., pp. 547-570, of his Collection, a memoir entitled "Récit de la descouverte que M. de La Salle a faite de la rivière de Mississipi en 1682." The author of the paper was Nicolas de La Salle, who wrote it in 1699, at the request of the French authorities, to serve as a guide to D'Iberville in his search for the Mississippi. Margry says that the writer bore no relationship to the discoverer.

La Salle's memorial of 1684, proposing an expedition to the Gulf of Mexico, printed in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 17-30, and in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 37-44, also in the second series of French's publication, and in Falconer's "Mississippi," briefly indicates his discoveries up to that time.

The French documents, collected by Brodhead in the archives of the Departments of Marine and of War, and printed in the ninth volume of the "Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York," Albany, 1855, include official correspondence which reports the movements of the explorers from time to time.

Shea promises an edition of a journal by Peñalossa, which will show the mercenary motives which inspired La Salle. Margry prints some documents concerning Peñalossa's propositions to lead a party of buccaneers from St. Domingo to unite with La Salle in an attack on the Spanish mines in New Mexico.

LA SALLE'S VOYAGE TO THE GULF OF MEXICO AND ATTEMPT TO DISCOVER THE MISSISSIPPI—1684-87

In 1683 La Salle returned to France and presented, in two memorials to the king, propositions for an expedition to colonize the Mississippi, and take possession of the Spanish mines in New Mexico. The first memorial, which gives a brief account of his previous achievements, is in Margry's Collection, vol. iii., pp. 17-30. A translation is in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 37-44; also in the second series,

pp. 1-15, of the same publication, and in Falconer's "Mississippi." The second, which defines his schemes at greater length, is printed in Margry, vol. ii., pp. 359-369; in English, in French's "Historical Collections," part i., pp. 25-34. The accessory official documents relating to various features and stages of the expedition are included in the second and third volumes of Margry's Collection. We have two narratives by members of this expedition, which relate its history from the time of departure from France down to and after the death of La Salle. The first to appear in print was Douay's, which was published by Le Clercq in his "Premier Établissement de la Foy," Paris, 1691. Shea printed a translation of it in the "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," New York, 1853.¹ A comparison of Douay's journal with Joutel's narrative is made by Shea in his edition of Le Clercq, published at New York in 1881.

Joutel, who seems to have been next in command to La Salle, kept a journal, which is published for the first time in its integrity in Margry's Collection, vol. iii., pp. 89-534. An abridged and modified version of this narrative was published at Paris in 1713, under the title, "Journal historique due dernier Voyage que feu M. de La Salle, fit dans le Golfe du Mexique." Joutel complained that changes were made by the editor in retouching the work for publication. The text published by Margry is much fuller than the printed edition. An English translation of the Paris production, under the title, "Journal of the Last Voyage performed by M. de La Salle," etc., was published at London in 1714, and in 1719 another edition was brought out as "Joutel's Journal of his Voyage to Mexico and Canada." An edition in Spanish was published at New York in 1831, with the title, "Dario histórico del último Viaje que M. de la Salle hizo para descubrir el desembocadero y curso del Mississippi." Charlevoix says that Joutel was the most reliable of La Salle's followers, and Parkman thinks that he "gives the impression of sense, intelligence, and candor throughout," while Douay, in the latter's opinion, did not always write honestly. Jean Cavalier, an older brother of La Salle's, who, after the latter's assassination, escaped to Canada in company with Joutel and Douay, is said to have drawn up a report of the expedition for M. de Seignelay, the Minister of Marine.

Parkman possesses a manuscript which he says is a portion of the first draft of this report. Dr. Shea edited Parkman's document under the title, "Relation du voyage entrepris par feu M. Robert Cavalier, sieur de La Salle, pour découvrir dans le golfe du Mexique, l'embouchure du fleuve de Missisipy. Par son frère, M. Cavalier" À Manate [N. Y.] 1858, 54 pp. 16mo, and printed a translation in his collection of "Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi," Albany, 1861.²

¹ Reprinted, Albany, 1903, edition of five hundred copies.

² Reprinted, Albany, 1902, five hundred copies.

Margry gives in his *Collection*, vol. ii., pp. 501-509, a portion of a journal kept by Cavalier. Both these narratives from Cavalier's pen are very imperfect, the former failing for the latter part of the expedition, and the journal stops before the landing in Texas. La Salle's assassination, which took place in 1687, was witnessed by Douay, who gives an account in his journal. Joutel relates the event from the testimony of eye-witnesses, and Tonty states what he learned from the survivors of La Salle's party. See also "Relation de la mort du Sr. de La Salle, suivant le rapport d'un nommé Couture à qui M. Cavalier l'apprit en passant aux Arkansas," in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 601-606.

A letter written by La Salle, March 4, 1685, erroneously dated at the mouth of the Mississippi, is in Margry, vol. ii., pp. 559-563, and a translation is appended to Shea's "Early Voyages." The "Procès verbal fait par La Salle avant de conduire son frère au Mississipi, 18. avril 1686," in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 535-549, relates La Salle's operations in Texas, including his first two journeys from the Texas colony to find the Mississippi by land.

The Spaniards, in 1689, visited the site of La Salle's colony, and made prisoners of the survivors whom they found among the Indians. Two of these captives escaped to France, and their testimony in regard to the fate of the colony is given in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 610-621.

Parkman cites the official journal of this Spanish expedition, which is inedited. It is entitled "Derrotero de la jornada que hizo el General Alonzo de Leon para el descubrimiento de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo, y poblacion de Franceses." Buckingham Smith's "Collecion de varios documentos para la historia de la Florida," pp. 25-28, contains a narrative by a member of the Spanish company, entitled "Carta en que se da noticia de un viaje hecho á la Bahía de Espíritu Santo, y de la poblacion que tenian ah los Franceses," which is also inserted in French's "Historical Collections," second series, pp. 293-295. Barcia, in his "Ensayo cronológico para la historia general de la Florida," Madrid, 1723, gives an account, from an unknown source, which is translated in Shea's "Discovery of the Mississippi."

This closes the list of principal contemporary narratives of the first explorations by the French of western territory. Margry's *Collection* contains many documents of minor interest, but important, which have not been noted. A journal by Minet, the engineer who returned to France with Beaujeau in 1686, in Margry, vol. II, pp. 589-601, and Tonty's "Lettres sur ce qu'il a appris de La Salle, le voyage qu'il a fait pour l'aller chercher," 1686-1689, in Margry, vol. iii., pp. 551-564, must, however, be mentioned.

SECONDARY AUTHORITIES.

Charlevoix's "Histoire et Description générale de la Nouvelle France," Paris, 1744, is the first historical work of value to treat of

the early explorations. Charlevoix was familiar with the country traversed by Marquette and La Salle, having, in 1721, followed the latter's route to the Mississippi. Shea published at New York, in 1866-67, an English translation of this work, and in the notes which he added, embodied the results of his extensive studies upon the early history of America, showing the latest knowledge possessed of the first travellers.

In 1844 Sparks issued his "Life of La Salle," for the materials of which he depended upon the printed narratives of Hennepin, Joutel, Tonty, and the recitals in Le Clercq's "Premier Établissement," etc., being unable to obtain any of the MSS. which are now accessible. Sparks' "Life of Marquette" appeared in 1845, and soon after Falconer's work "On the Discovery of the Mississippi," which contained translations of important MSS., was published at London.

In 1853, Shea's valuable "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi" was brought out at New York.¹ The contents of this work have been perhaps sufficiently indicated in the notices of contemporary journals, which are reproduced in it. In 1860 Thomassy published "Géologie pratique de la Louisiane," in which he presented some important inedited documents. This writer contemplated writing a history of La Salle's exploits from the MSS. in the French archives, and, as a preliminary, issued in separate form the documents which he had collected, under the title, "De La Salle et ses relations inédites," Paris, 1860. In 1869 Parkman published the first edition of his "Discovery of the Great West," forming the third volume of the series of historical narratives upon "France and England in North America." In the latest edition, published in 1879, the title was changed to "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West." In the writing of the later edition the author had the use of additional documentary material, since printed by Margry, which caused a revision of some portion of the work. Gravier's "Découvertes [etc.] de La Salle," Paris, 1870, and the supplementary monograph published by him in 1871, add little that is not in Parkman's work. The later publication corrects some errors and deficiencies in the first. Dr. Shea's contributions to the history of the first explorations of the West, beside his "Discovery of the Mississippi," New York, 1853, consist mainly of notes to the many important original narratives which he has edited, notably those of Hennepin, Le Clercq, and Charlevoix.

The following works contain among the first travellers, accounts of the country traversed by Marquette, Hennepin, and La Salle:

La Hontan, who travelled in 1689 and subsequent years, wrote "Nouveaux Voyages," Paris, 1703. This work passed through several editions. Although adventures related by La Hontan are in many

¹New edition, Albany, 1903.

cases imaginary, yet, says Parkman, he "had seen much, and portions of his story have a substantial value." J. Gravier, in 1700, went from the Illinois country to D'Iberville's colony in Louisiana. See "Relation de Voyage en 1700 depuis le Illinois jusqu'à l'embouchure du Mississipi," New York, 1859 (*Shea's Cramoisy Press*). The "Relation de la Mississipi en 1700, par MM. de Montigny, De St. Cosme et Thaumur de la Source," New York, 1861 (*Shea's Cramoisy Press*), narrates the experiences of a party of the missionaries under the guidance of Tonty. An extract from Gravier is given in French's Historical Collections, second series, pp. 79-93. St. Cosme's and Gravier's narratives are also included in Shea's collection of "Early Voyages up and down the Mississipi," Albany, 1861, where also may be found Le Seuer's journal of a voyage from Louisiana to the Sioux country in 1699-1700. An extract from Le Seuer is given in La Harpe's "Journal Historique," Paris, 1831, and in French's Historical Collections, pt. 3. A journal by Pénicaut, who accompanied Le Seuer, is included in his "Annals of Louisiana, from 1698 to 1722," in French's Historical Collections, new series, pp. 33-162, New York, 1869. The memoirs of D'Iberville's expedition to the Mississipi, in 1699-1700, contain descriptions of the lower Mississipi and throw light upon La Salle's movements in that region. The principal documents concerning D'Iberville's enterprises are printed in the fourth volume of Margry. A brief report by D'Iberville of his voyage on the Mississipi in 1699, is printed in French's Historical Collection, second series, pp. 19-31. An anonymous narrative entitled, "Historical Journal; or, Narrative of the Expedition under D'Iberville, to explore the Colbert (Mississipi) River, 1698-99," is published in French's Historical Collection, second series, pp. 29-119. Both of these papers are included in Margry's collection, volume iv. Sauvole was a member of D'Iberville's company; see his "Journal Historique" in French's Historical Collections, pt. 3, pp. 223-240.

Father Marest's letter on his mission at the Illinois, dated 1712, published in the "Lettres édifiantes," vol. ii., and reprinted in Kip's "Early Jesuit Missions," pp. 191-227, New York, 1846, describes the scenes of his labors.

In 1721, Charlevoix, the historian, made a journey from Canada across the lakes to the Illinois, and thence down the Mississipi to the Gulf of Mexico. He was requested by the King of France, to write an account of his travels. The descriptions of the country published in vol. iii. of his "Histoire et Description générale de la Nouvelle France," Paris, 1744, afford perhaps the best views of the primitive West which we have.

The English editions of his travels are entitled "Journal of a Voyage to North America," London, 1761, and "Letters to the Duchess of Lesdiguières," London, 1763. See also French's Historical Collec-

tion, pt. 3, pp. 119-196, where his journal is reprinted from the English editions.

On reaching the subject of *Maps*, we find that Harrisse's *Notes sur la Nouvelle France* contains a section upon the "Cartographie de la Nouvelle France, depuis la découverte jusqu'en 1700," which affords an extensive list of published and inedited maps.

Parkman gives a descriptive account of "Early unpublished maps of the Mississippi and the great lakes," in the appendix to his "Discovery of the Great West." Thomassy's *Géol. pr. de la Louisiane*, has an appendix upon the "Cartographie de la ancienne Louisiane, 1544-1858." Baldwin's "Early maps of Ohio and the West," Cleveland, 1875, and Peet's article, "The discovery of the Ohio, Early maps," in *Amer. Antiquarian*, vol. I., pp. 21-35, Cleveland, 1878, are useful studies of some early maps in the possession of Western historical societies. Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities," Chicago, 1881, contains a chapter upon the first maps representing that place.

The following printed works contain some of the more important edited maps, bearing date in the original previous to 1700: Champlain's "Voyages," Paris, 1632, is accompanied by a map upon which Lake Superior is shown, and a "grande rivière qui vient du midy" is represented as flowing into the lake from the south. This map, which is reproduced in the later editions of Champlain, is of little value in a geographical sense for the western country. A map of "Nouvelle France," showing the great lakes, is in Sanson d'Abbeville's "L'Amérique en plusieurs cartes," Paris, 1656. Du Creux's "Historia Canadensis," Paris, 1664, contains a map dated 1660, which shows the outlines of the great lakes. Bressani's "Relation abrégée de quelques missions dans la Nouvelle France," Montreal, 1852, contains a reproduction. Dollier and Gallinée's map of 1670, showing their course in travelling to Ste. Marie, is reproduced in Faillon's *Historie de la col. fr.*, vol. iii., p. 305 (see Parkman's *La Salle*, p. 449, for description); Claude Dablon's "Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1670-1671," Paris, 1672, contains a map made about 1670 (see Parkman, p. 450); a reproduction is published in Foster and Whitney's "Report on the Geology of Lake Superior," Washington, 1850; Marquette's map of 1674 accompanies the various editions of his narrative. The map in Thevenot's "Recueil" is by Liebaux, and not by Marquette. Gravier's "Etude sur une carte inconnue" contains a *fac-simile* of a map by Joliet, probably in 1674. This map is the first published map showing the great lakes in connection with the Mississippi.

Shea's edition of Dablon's "Relation de la Nouvelle France, 1673 à 1679," New York, 1860, has a reproduction of a map made by the Jesuits in 1673, showing the missions upon Lake Michigan. Hennepin's "Description de la Louisiane," Paris, 1683, contains a map made upon data by Hennepin. The later editions of this work are also

accompanied by a map. Parkman gives a reproduction of the portion of Franquin's famous map, which shows La Salle's colony on the Illinois, and that portion showing the lower part of the Mississippi is reproduced in Thomassy's "Géologie de la Louisiane." A map made by Minet, the engineer of La Salle's last expedition, which gives two separate views of the mouth of the Mississippi, is given in a reduced size in Gravier's "La Salle," and in Thomassy's "Géologie de la Louisiane." Le Clercq's "Premier établissement de la foy," Paris, 1691; Hennepin's "Nouvelle découverte," and "Nouveau Voyage;" La Hontan's "Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amérique," La Haye, 1703; Coxe's "Description of Carolana," London, 1742, and Charlevoix's "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," Paris, 1744, are accompanied by maps made nearly contemporaneously with the publication of the works in question. A *fac-simile* De Lisle's map of 1700, which indicates the course of the early explorers, is in Gravier's "La Salle" and in French's Collections, pt. 2. A map by Joutel, dated 1713, accompanies the printed editions of his journal. Margry's "Découvertes et établissements des Français," when completed, will include a volume devoted to maps now inedited. The third volume of this collection contains an outline sketch, representing La Salle's discoveries. A modern map, representing countries traversed by Marquette, Hennepin, and La Salle, is given in Parkman's "La Salle."

We next give a list of publications which treat of the explorations of the Mississippi valley, arranged in chronological order. Works which have been cited under different headings of this article are, in most cases, not included in this enumeration.

La Hontan, "Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amérique Septentrionale," Paris, 1703. This work passed through several editions. Bacqueville de la Potherie, "Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale," Paris, 1722. Editions were also published in 1723 and 1753. Has some account of La Salle's travels in 1682. Barcia, "Ensayo cronologico para la Historia General de Florida," Madrid, 1723. The author relied upon the memoirs of Marquette, Joutel, and Tonty for the portion of his work relating to the French explorations. Lafitau, "Mœurs des Sauvages Américains," Paris, 1724. Coxe, "Description of the English province of Carolana, by the Spaniards called Florida; by the French, La Louisiane," London, 1742. The author disparages the French discoveries, and urges the English right to the country. Dumont, "Mémoire sur la Louisiane, contenant ce qui y est arrivé de plus rémarquable depuis 1687 jusqu'à present," Paris, 1753, 2 vols. Bellin, "Remarques sur la carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale, comprise entre le 28^e et le 72^e degré de latitude," Paris, 1755, gives some account of La Salle's establishments. Le Page du Pratz, "Histoire de la Louisiane," Paris, 1758, 3 vols.; English translations were published in 1763 and 1774. Gayarré "Essai historique sur la Louisiane," Nouvelle Orléans, 1830,

2 vols.; La Harpe, "Journal historique de l'établissement des Français à la Louisiane," Paris, 1831. This work is reproduced in French's Historical Collections, vol. iii. Conover, "Oration on the History of the First Discovery and Settlement of the New World, with especial reference to the Mississippi Valley," Cincinnati, 1835. Perkins, "Early French Travellers in the West," in *North American Review*, vol. xlviii., pp. 63-108. A review of Spark's "La Salle" and "Marquette." Colt, "The Devil's Hole, with an account of a visit made to it by La Salle," Lockport, N. Y., 44 pp., the third edition appeared in 1851. Gayarré, "Histoire de la Louisiane," Nouvelle Orléans, 1846-47. Guérin, "Les navigateurs Français," Paris, 1846. Bradford, "Notes on the Northwest," New York, 1846. Kip, "Early Jesuit Missions in North America," New York, 1846, contains letters by missionaries giving descriptions of the newly discovered country. Monette, "History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi," New York, 1846. Gayarré, "Romance of the History of Louisiana," New York, 1848. Foster and Whitney, "Report on the Geology and Topography of a Portion of the Lake Superior Land District," Washington, 1850-51, 2 vols., contains an account of the first Jesuit missions on Lake Superior. Gayarré, "Louisiana: its Colonial History," New York, 1851, and "Louisiana and its History as a French Colony," New York, 1852. Hart, "History of the Discovery of the Valley of the Mississippi," St. Louis, 1852; "History of the Valley of the Mississippi," New York, 1853. Gayarré, "History of Louisiana," New York, 1854. W. R. Smith, "History of Wisconsin," Madison, 1854; only volumes one and three were published of this valuable work; volume three contains translations of the Jesuit relations, which describe the operations of the Jesuits in Wisconsin territory. Shea, "History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854," New York, 1855. E. D. Neill, "Materials for the future History of Minnesota," St. Paul, 1856, also in the "Annals of Minnesota," 1856, and reprinted in Minnesota Historical Society Collection, vol. i. Law, "Jesuit Missions in the Northwest," in the Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. iii., pp. 89-111, 118-121, Madison, 1857. The author of this article makes the erroneous statement that missionaries had reached the Mississippi several years before Marquette's visit. Shea disproves this in an article entitled "Justice to Marquette," in pp. 111-117 of the same volume of the Wisconsin collections. Shea, "Indian Tribes of Wisconsin," in the Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. iii., pp. 125-128. Ferland, "Cours d'Histoire du Canada, 1534-1759," Québec, 1859. This author is highly esteemed as an historical writer. Shea, "Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi," Albany, 1861. Ferland, "Notes sur les registres de Notre Dame de Québec," Québec, 1863. Neill, "Early French Forts and Footprints in the Valley of the Upper Mississippi," in Minnesota Historical Society Collections, 1864, pp. 9-20.

Faillon, "Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada," Villemarie [Montreal], 1865, 3 vols.; this work comes down only to 1671, but is of value for period covered.

French, "Biographical Sketch of La Salle," in Historical Collections of Louisiana, new series, pp. 4-7, New York, 1869. Gallaud, "Mississippi: a Brief History of its Discovery," in "Annals of Iowa," vol. vii., pp. 194-201, Davenport, 1869. Van Fleet, "Old and New Mackinac; with copious extracts from Marquette, Hennepin, La Hontan, and others," Ann Arbor, 1870; Brodhead, "History of New York," New York, 1871; the author gives briefly the latest knowledge upon the first explorations. The *Revue Maritime et Coloniale*, Paris, 1872, contains controversial articles by HARRISSE and MARGRY, both with the title "Histoire critique de la découverte du Mississippi." HARRISSE, "Notes pour servir à l'Histoire [etc.] de la Nouvelle France, 1545-72," Paris, 1872. In addition to the bibliographical matter in this work there is a brief historical summary of the early explorations. NEILL, "French Voyageurs to Minnesota," in the Annals of Minnesota, 1850, pp. 10-28, reprinted in Minnesota Historical Society Collections, vol. i., pp. 17-36. DURRIE, "Early Outposts of Wisconsin," Madison, 1873, contains notices of the visits of Perrot, Alloüez, Marquette, and others. "Laval université, Québec, 200e anniversaire de la découverte du Mississippi par Joliet et le P. Marquette, Soirée littéraire et musicale, 17 Juin, 1873," Québec, 1873, 54 pp., contains a discourse by the Abbé Verreau. PARRY, "Historical Address on the Early Exploration of the Mississippi Valley," Davenport, Iowa, 1873, 36 pp. SALTER, "Address commemorative of the 200th Anniversary of the Discovery of Iowa by Marquette and Joliet," in the "Annals of Iowa," vol. ii., pp. 501-515. SHEA, "Address on Discovery of the Mississippi, read on the bi-centennial of said Discovery, June 17, 1873," published in Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, vol. vii., pp. 111-122. MARSHALL, "The First Visit of La Salle to the Senecas in 1669," Buffalo, 1874, 45 pp. BALDWIN, "Early maps of Ohio and the West," Cleveland, 1875, 25 pp.; this forms one of the Western Reserve Historical Society tracts. FRENCH, "Biographical Sketch of L. Joliet," in his Historical Collections, second series, pp. 139, 140.

"Memoir sent by the King to M. Denonville, explanatory of the French Possessions in North America," in French's Historical Collections, second series, pp. 123-142. This document briefly recapitulates the French discoveries. BALDWIN, "Margry Papers, vol. ii.," in Western Reserve Historical Society tracts. United States Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers, Washington, 1876. Volume iii. of this report contains an extract from Marquette's journal, and a reduced reproduction of his map. GRAVIER, "La route du Mississipi," in the compte-rendu of the second session of the Congrès des Améri-

canistes, 1877, vol. i., pp. 237-312. Whittlesey, "Discovery of the Ohio River by La Salle," 1669-70, one of the Western Reserve Historical Society tracts.

Hurlbut, "Father Marquette at Mackinaw and Chicago," Chicago, 1878. Jacker, "La Salle and the Jesuits," in *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, vol. iii., pp. 404-426, Philadelphia, 1878. Peet, "Discovery of the Ohio," in *American Antiquarian*, vol. i., pp. 21-35. Shea, "Address before the Missouri Historical Society at the celebration of the 250th anniversary of Marquette's Voyage, July 20, 1878; same." "Romance and Reality of the Death of Marquette, and the recent Discovery of his Remains," in *Catholic World*, vol. ii., pp. 267-281.

C. C. Baldwin, "Indian Migration in Ohio," Western Reserve Historical Society tract No. 47; also in *American Antiquarian*, April, 1879. M. F. Force, "Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio," Cincinnati, 1879. Margry, "Was La Salle the Discoverer of the Mississippi," in *American Antiquarian*, vol. ii., pp. 206-209, Chicago, 1879-81. O. H. Marshall, "Building and Voyage of the Griffon in 1679," Buffalo, 1879. Blanchard, "Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest," Chicago, 1880; gives a brief account of Joliet's and La Salle's voyages.

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The references in Parkman's "La Salle" have indicated many authorities, and the author's characterizations have been helpful. Gravier's "La Salle," Paris, 1871, contains a list of eighty-nine articles upon La Salle. The compiler of this article was unable to examine a copy until after completion of the list. The essential works in it were found to have been noted. Sabin's "Bibliography" is indispensable in verifying titles.

APPLETON P. C. GRIFFIN

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